DUTCH HISTORY ART AND LITERATURE FOR AMERICANS

J. DE VRIES

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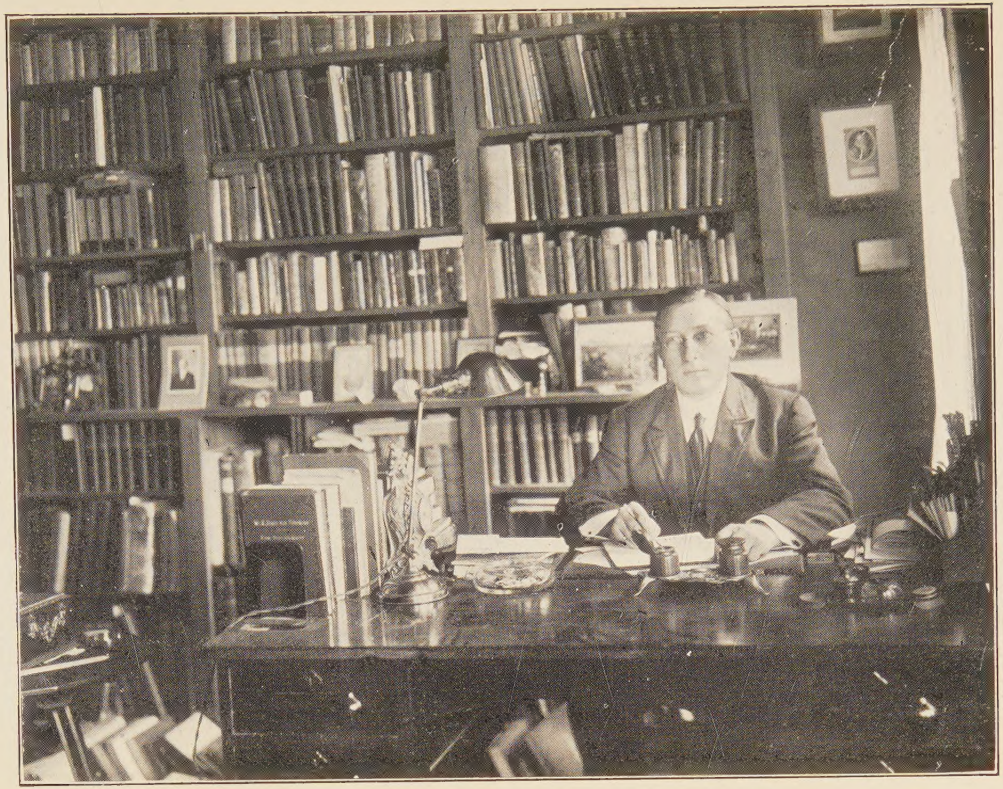

TIEMEN DE VRIES, THE AUTHOR, IN HIS STUDY

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DUTCH HISTORY
ART AND LITERATURE

FOR AMERICANS

LECTURES

GIVEN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

BY

TIEMEN DE VRIES, J. D.

PROFESSOR IN DUTCH INSTITUTIONS

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PREFACE

It is on the request of my students that I resolved to publish the lectures contained in this volume. The first lecture appears here in its second edition. The sympathy and the interest of the students increasing more and more as they became acquainted with Dutch institutions, was for me a continuous inspiration and it is a real pleasure for me that I can offer them these lectures in a more accurate form than they could take them in their note books, and that I could provide them with foot notes, which for the industrious student sometimes are of as much value as the lectures themselves.

At the same time this publication brings these lectures under the reach of all those Americans, who wish to study Holland and its institutions in another way than only by reading travellers' books or by listening to illustrated lectures. If they may be just a stimulus for a more scholarly studying of Dutch history, Dutch art and Dutch literature, so much sympathized with but, alas, often so little and so superficially known, then I think this publication to be sufficiently justified.

T. DE VRIES.

Chicago, July, 1912.

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INTRODUCTION

The following lectures, given in the University of Chicago, are intended to prove that there is something about Holland which every well educated American ought to know and wishes to know. The sympathy of the American people for Holland is as deeply rooted in history as it is continuously cherished in the heart of the American nation. Every year thousands of Americans visit Holland and feel themselves at home among the old democratic people of the Dutch Republic more than in any other country of Europe. In innumerable illustrated lectures those travellers show their impressions to the American people and however superficial these may be, the sympathy of these Americans proves to be hearty. Women's clubs all over the country devote their meetings of sometimes a whole winter season to study Holland and try in their own way to get acquainted with Dutch institutions.

And yet, notwithstanding this general sympathy, the Americans hardly have any opportunity, even in the greatest universities, to study Dutch institutions in a more systematic and scientific way. It seems as if all the millions of money, given by the government of the different States or by the generous millionaires, are given with the expressed condition that not a single dollar might be spent for the special instruction in Dutch institutions! As if it were the most unnatural and exceptional thing for Americans to study Dutch history, Dutch art and literature! Some people seem to consider it as an interest just for the Dutch people in America and consequently they appeal to the Dutch people for an endowment to establish a chair in their own behalf. As if it were an interest only for one nation and not for the education of Americans in general! And as if for every chair or department, English, French or German, which shows a national color, every one of these nationalities had made an endowment in every one of the great American Universities! As if the people of Dutch descent did not pay anything for American education! As if the Dutch people had not always in history been pioneers of education and civilization. One single man of Dutch descent, for in-

stance, gave so much money to the University of Chicago that ten chairs for Dutch institutions could have been established for that money, if he had been narrow-minded enough to look at the matter from that especially national point of view.

Every year there are scores of appoinuments in the great American Universities for everything that can be of any use for the higher education and for the fostering of history, art, literature, language and sciences. Not only for French, English and German institutions but even for Italian, for Scandinavian, for Gothic and Sanscrit, courses are created which are *attended by three or four students* and sometimes still less than that. Only the name of Holland seems to be scratched out of the list of nations, who produce the material for the education of the American people. It is only incidental, when in a whole course of general history one single hour might be devoted especially to Holland; Dutch art is taught by eminent men, but who never will pretend to be especially posted in the national life of the Dutch nation of which art is an outgrowth and without which it never can be well understood. I hope the lecture on Rembrandt in this volume may be a sufficient proof of this. And finally Dutch literature and Dutch language is never heard of at all.

That all the Dutch institutions hang closely and inseparably together and have one and the same foundation in the national life of the Dutch nation and consequently require the entire devotion of a man's full ability, seems hardly to be thought of and so the Dutch institutions are cut to pieces, dissolved like a piece of salt in a barrel of water and as a whole totally neglected. One may ask if this is in accordance with the modern spirit of specializing and if there is not some reason for a specialist in Dutch institutions in every one of the great American Universities.

The reason for this total neglect of Dutch institutions has been often a subject of discussion at least in the last year in Chicago. Some people say it is the old prejudice against the Dutch, rooted in the manifold conflicts of England and Holland in history and carried over from England to the American shores and continued even in America from Colonial days till the present time. Others say it is the permanent contest between the established departments in the universities, every one of them asking every dollar for more men of their own color. It seems to me that it is rather the new and still unset-

tled and incomplete condition of most of the great American Universities. But the fact itself cannot be denied and its consequence is apparent in the sometimes astonishing ignorance even among otherwise well educated Americans about Holland notwithstanding the general sympathy of Americans for the Dutch nation. Let me give a few examples from my own experience for illustration.

At a banquet in Congress Hotel I was at one time introduced to a highly educated American lady who asked me what I was doing. "Well," I said, "I am teaching Dutch institutions in the University of Chicago." "What do you mean," she said, "by Dutch institutions?" I said "We include in this expression Dutch history, Dutch art, Dutch literature and Dutch language." Then with some astonishment she said: "You teach Dutch literature? *Is there a Dutch literature?* I never heard that there was a Dutch literature." I said: "Well Mrs. —— do you know that there is an English literature?" "O yes, of course," she said. I said: "Well, in the same way there is a Dutch literature; a nation for seven hundred years prominent in history and famous for its fostering of learning and civilization *must* have a literature."

Another lady, who was herself writing a book on Holland!, asked me at one time about the well known tale of *"the leak in the dike,"* the tale about that Dutch boy who is said to have saved the country from a flood by holding his hand before the hole in the dike. She thought that story was typically Dutch and that it gave a true idea about the fight of the Dutch nation against the elements. I hardly knew what to answer to such childish foolishness from the mouth of a well educated American lady. At last I said: "Miss —— let me try to explain it to you as clearly and truly as possible. Just compare that Dutch boy with an American boy in Chicago, who during a terrible hurricane saved the building of Marshall Field from being destroyed by pushing his hand against its wall. Better illustration of the trustworthiness of that tale I cannot give you. The terrible storms that chase waves of the ocean against and over the dikes in Holland, that threaten to flood the country, when the foaming sea is roaring along the shores and the strongest man hardly can stand still on his place; when the inhabitants sigh under the majestic force of the elements; when they behold the moist in the thundering storm like smoke in the dark air of the night; you must have seen

that to understand what it means, those great floods in history, when all the human power disappears before the irresistible elements and thousands of people perish in one single night. The dikes in Holland are constructions, the foundations of which have been made a thousand years ago; all the succeeding generations have spent their labor in strengthening them and even in our present time these marvellous constructions every year are ameliorated and millions of money are spent in doing this. And of such things you try to give a true idea to the Americans by telling the foolish story of the leak in the dike?"

What we find in many travellers' books written by people who visited Holland for a couple of weeks, without studying before the Dutch institutions, I will illustrate with just one example, as I think it is one of the best books of the kind. I mean *Three weeks in Holland and Belgium by John U. Higinbotham. Chicago, The Kelley and Britton Co. Price* $4.50. How his superficial knowledge brings him to misunderstandings and to the most foolish narratives of what he found in the Netherlands, the following examples may show.

On page 25 he says: "For a nation whose best known literary work is the "Camera Obscura," the inhabitants of Holland become wonderfully excited over a kodak." Even the great poets such as Vondel and Cats and Bilderdyk and others the author does not seem to know. And then: "the inhabitants of Holland excited over a kodak"! If the author had said "Some inhabitants of poor little villages" it is hardly true, but that is not specific only in Holland. You see in every country that in little villages the people in the street are attracted by the kodaks of travellers.

On page 37. Speaking about Motley and his living in the Hague he says: "The picture was painted especially for Wilhelmina."

The truth is that Motley died in 1877, three years before Queen Wilhelmina was born, and that Motley's portrait was painted not for Queen Wilhalmina but for Queen Sophia, the wife of King William III.

On page 38 the famous picture, the "lesson in anatomy" of Rembrandt is called "a most useless waste of paint." What do you think of such a qualification for one of the most famous pictures in the world, the more attractive for every scientific

man, since Rembrandt on this marvelous canvas realizes the great idea of *the triumph of science?*

On page 47 writing about the neighborhood of Leiden he says: "The dikes of Katwyk are visible to the northeast. These were the dikes that were broken down by William the Silent" etc. for the relief of Leiden. The truth is, that near Katwyk are not dikes but dunes perhaps a mile broad; that William the Silent did not break down these dunes, which should have been absolutely impossible, but the dikes of the River Meuse and of the Yssel near Rotterdam to flood the country around Leiden.

On page 52 the author makes Hugo Grotius professor in Leiden where Grotius never has been a professor.

On page 61 we are told: "There is said to be a scheme of defence in Holland centering in Amsterdam, whereby the whole kingdom can be flooded" etc. Everybody who has the most elementary knowledge of Holland knows that hardly *a fourth part* of the whole kingdom can be flooded and in the greater part of the year only a still smaller part.

On page 63 we are surprised by a photo of the author's kodak with the subscription: "Old sunken gate." Certainly there are many old gates in the Netherlands; gates of several centuries old. But this picture shows us only a part of a stone wall, not more than thirty years old, and built to sustain the new elevated railroad track near the Central Station.

On page 81 the author tells us that he had "not seen a field of grain. All the land seems to be pasture." It *seems* to the author, but it is not so. Everybody who knows a little about the Netherlands knows that a remarkable amount of grain is produced by several provinces of Holland.

On page 103 we read: "At Enkhuisen depot we found ourselves for the first time in a town without an English speaking inhabitant." On the contrary I remember at least one firm by the name of Groot & Sluis, which sends its agents all over the world, and has its catologues printed in *seven languages* and more than one of the several partners speak English as well as our traveller might wish.

Such is the information about Holland in the best books written by travellers, who spend only a few weeks in the Netherlands and who did not study Dutch institutions before visiting Holland. They travel in Holland like real *"inno-*

cents abroad" and not seldom make themselves the laughing stock of the people whom they meet in the hotels.

And yet, this astonishing ignorance about Holland and about Dutch institutions cannot surprise us. How can the Americans, whatever sympathy they may have for Holland, study Dutch institutions, if, even in the greatest universities there is no opportunity? The fact that those travellers' books, written by "innocents abroad" are published and sold for $4.50 a copy shows that the Americans like to know Holland and its institutions, but it shows at the same time, how totally neglected is this field of knowledge in the American Universities, and with what poor instruction the Americans have to help themselves on this point.

And yet, notwithstanding such general ignorance, so inconsistent with the general sympathy for Holland, some scholars in history, in art, in sciences, in languages and literature know very well that in the development of learning and civilization Holland takes a place of very first rank hardly surpassed by any nation in the world. I fear no contradiction when I say that modern democracy rose in the cities of the Netherlands during the fourteenth and fifteenth century; that the struggle for liberty and independence, for toleration and freedom of thought is first and most remarkably fought in the Netherlands; that all Protestantism is defended and maintained twice by the Dutch nation, at first under the leadership of "father William" against Spain and secondly under William III against France and the attack of Louis XIV. Every scholar knows that there has been a time when Holland was the training school of Europe; when the Russian Czar Peter came to the Netherlands to be instructed in shipbuilding; the French generals Turenne and Conde came thither to learn modern warfare; the Great Elector, the founder of the Prussian power to be instructed by Frederik Hendrik, whose daughter he afterwards married. Every scholar knows that there was a time when Miles Standish served in the armies of Prince Maurice and learned in the Netherlands how to defend the Pilgrims, when the Rev. Robinson, the spiritual leader of the Pilgrims fought at the side of Gomarus in the spirited struggle between Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants; when the Dutch Ironsides gave instructions to the soldiers of Cromwell and Cromwell himself had the Dutch officer Dalbier as his instructor; when Hugo Grotius laid the foundations of

international law; when Professor Boerhaave, the great physician in Leiden's university, received his letters with the only address: Boerhaave, Europe; when Milton got his suggestions for Paradise Lost from Grotius and Vondel. American scholars know that the Dutch have been the founders of a remarkable part of the American Commonwealth; that in the field of art the schools of Rubens and Rembrandt founded in the twofold spirit of the Southern and Northern Netherlands, are among the most famous schools in the world; that some products of the Dutch literature, as for instance Vondel's Lucifer, are among the best ever produced by the human mind; that in all kinds of sciences the Dutch Universities now for three centuries continuously have maintained their good fame, so that there is even in our present time no nation in the world to whose scholars proportionally as far as the number of inhabitants is concerned, are contributed a greater number of Nobel prizes than to those of Holland.

No scholar can deny that there is here a field of knowledge grown up on one and the same general basis of Dutch national life in its historical development and that it is not at all a superfluous luxury for every great university to have at least one man, well posted on this general field and enough acquainted with its different branches to teach Dutch history, art, language and literature.

If this is clear, then the next question is how to establish a chair for the field of Dutch institutions in the general scheme of an American university. As it includes Dutch history, being a considerable part of European history, it should in so far belong to the historical department. But it contains as well an important part of art and in so far could find a home in the art department. While as far as Dutch language and literature is concerned, everybody should bring it under the department of Germanic languages. A fourth possibility, if none of the three already mentioned, perhaps fully satisfies, is, to set a chair for Dutch institutions apart and as coordinate with the different departments. A man, who has to teach Dutch institutions, can devote all his time and ability neither to the Department of History, nor to that of Germanic languages, nor to the History of Art, and yet every department of course prefers a man who can devote himself entirely to its own special field of learning. Consequently it will require a sacrifice for any of the departments to accept

within her ranks a man for Dutch institutions, a sacrifice in behalf of the university as a whole and of general education. And if none of the departments should prove to be inclined to make such a sacrifice, then the only possibility should really be to set the Dutch institutions apart and to give them an opportunity to develop by their own energy and attraction for the higher education of the Americans. If such an American liberality should be bestowed on the Dutch institutions, that they in their free development were left to their own energy and attractiveness in the midst of the great universities of America, I should not be in doubt even for a moment about their future position as a factor in American education.

If practically established, as most everything is done in America, it should depend much upon the man to whom the honor of fulfilling the chair is to be given, in so far as it hardly can be expected that he is posted just as thoroughly in one as in the other part of his broad field of learning.

Not less important is the question in how far there will be any demand from the side of the American students for instruction in Dutch institutions. This question I can answer at least with the experience of one year and as far as Dutch history and the history of Dutch art is concerned. Everybody can understand that the introduction of such a branch of learning as Dutch institutions, with which the American students are not at all acquainted, is in the beginning a pretty careful business. To seek contact with the American consciousness of the students the best way is to introduce at first those branches which are best fit for that purpose. For this reason I started in the first quarter with giving just a number of public lectures as an introduction of Dutch institutions in the midst of the university. The second quarter I opened a regular course in Dutch history and had a class of eight students. In the same time I gave some more public lectures. And the last quarter I continued the course in Dutch history, devoting one of the four hours to the history of Dutch art. In this quarter I had a class of nineteen students, seven of whom had also followed the first course. The hearty sympathy the students showed towards this course in Dutch history and Dutch art was a real surprise for me, however convinced I might be of the general sympathy of the American people for Holland. In the next Fall quarter I hope to continue the course in Dutch history with this difference that I hope to devote two

hours to history, one hour to art and one hour to Dutch literature. So that finally only the Dutch language is left, for which I hope, after the other three branches are sufficiently introduced, to open a second course of four hours a week. I think this gradual introduction of the whole field is the best way to make the American students familiar with Dutch institutions. Only for the Dutch language the demand will be of course very limited, just like the demand for Norwegian, Italian, Gothic, Chinese and Japanese, most of which are taught in the great American Universities but for which the demand always is very small, so that it hardly can be said that these languages touch even the general education of the students as a whole. But this is quite another question with Dutch history, art and literature, about which every well educated American ought to know at least something. And this makes the argument for a chair for Dutch institutions so much stronger than for one of the languages, just mentioned, can be given. As far as I can see the main question with the instruction of Dutch institutions is not the Dutch language—altho certainly belonging to the complete scheme of a university—but Dutch history, art and literature. Dutch language, I suppose, will be demanded only by a few scholars in Germanic languages just as the above mentioned languages each of them in its own department. But Dutch history, Dutch art and Dutch literature represent some important interest for every American student and for the whole American people.

With these observations, which I hope may be deemed worthy of being discussed in every center of American learning and at least in the great universities, which are so largely responsible for the education of the people, I submit this volume to the judgment of the benevolent reader.

Everyone of these lectures is intended to bear an introductory character. The first and the second lectures on *Dutch influence on America* and on *Dutch and American History, a comparison* show the close connection between Holland and America; in the third one on *William the Silent* and the fourth one on *Philip II* I tried to give a sketch of the two most characteristic representatives of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic parties in the sixteenth century during the great struggle for modern liberty and democracy; the fifth lecture on *the rise of Amsterdam* is a chapter in the history of economical development so influential in all history; in the sixth lecture

on *Rembrandt* the reader will find out, how difficult or rather impossible it is to understand Dutch art without being thoroughly acquainted with Dutch national life and national character as it is found in the manifold complications of parties in politics, in ecclesiastics, in literary circles and in domestic habits and as it has grown up during many centuries under the influence of climate and natural situation of the country.

Finally the seventh lecture on *Washington Irving and the Dutch people of New York* and the eighth one on *Jacob Steendam* may show the connection between Dutch and American literature and are to be considered as an introduction to a course in Dutch Literature for Americans. Washington Irving's indebtedness to Erasmus may be a surprise to many an American reader, but the fact that this had not even been a subject of discussion before, shows better than volumes how far the neglect of Dutch institutions has gone.

I.

INFLUENCE OF HOLLAND ON AMERICA

DEDICATION

To Martin A. Ryerson, President Trustee of the University of Chicago, illustrious son of one of those Dutch families, which were the pioneers of civilization in America, the founders of this glorious Commonwealth, the pride of the American nation, the true nobility—not in name but in deed, of the American people, this lecture is dedicated as a guarantee that the eight millions of people in this country, who feel Dutch blood in their veins, do appreciate his generous fostering of science and admire his love for art and literature, so characteristic in the Dutch nation during centuries, and that they wish to respect and to honor these noble qualities at the same time as an imperishable inheritance of the Dutch nation, as the most beautiful characteristics of the real American spirit and as everlasting blessings for the people of the United States.

THE INFLUENCE OF HOLLAND ON AMERICA

It was on January 2nd in the year 1769 at the opening of the Royal Academy of Arts at London that Sir Joshua Reynolds delivered one of those remarkable discourses, to which even statesmen, and orators as Edmund Burke, were anxious to listen. On that interesting day, an event in the life of the great artist as well as in that of the English nation, he had just one great idea in his mind, an idea which he tried to explain in his address and which he considered as one of the most important for his students viz., that they should love and respect and follow the great masters of the past and the rules of art established by their practice. "I would chiefly recommend," he said, "that those models, which have passed through the approbation of ages, should be considered as perfect and infallible guides; as subjects for imitation, not for criticism. I am confident," he says, "that this is the only efficacious method of making progress in the arts." 1) The great examples of art are the materials on which genius is to work and without which the strongest intellect may be fruitlessly or deviously employed. "By studying these authentic models that idea of excellence which is the result of accumulated experience of past ages, may be at once acquired and the tardy and obstructed progress of our predecessors may teach us a shorter and easier way." What he thought the first need for young artists was, what he called, "the opportunity of seeing those masterly efforts of genius, which at once kindle the whole soul and force it into sudden and irresistible approbation." 2)

Certainly this beautiful lesson of the famous artist must have been an inexhaustible source of the most sublime inspiration for the students of art, but the idea itself had a far wider tendency. The models, which have passed through the approbation of ages, we find not only in the art of painting; the

1) Sir Joshua Reynolds Discourses ed. by Edward Gilpin Johnson, Chicago 1891. p. 57.
2) ibid. 55.

great examples, which give us that idea of excellence, which is the result of accumulated experience of past ages, we meet them in every kind of art, in every department of science, in every branch of human life. Models for the life of individuals as well as for the institutions of whole nations; examples whose experience is to be the mother of wisdom in state as well as in church, in art and in science, in economic as well as in domestic life. It is the same great lesson we find already with the Apostle Paul, teaching the Christians to strengthen their faith by the examples of all the martyrs and heroes of the old Covenant, calling them, "so great a cloud of witnesses," 1) in order that every one, says Calvin, may yield to follow them, for the virtues of the saints are testimonies to confirm us, that we, having them as our guides and companions, may be more industrious and cheerfully approach to our God." 2) Now in this great idea, emphasized by Sir Joshua Reynolds, taught by the Apostle Paul, accepted by the whole Christian Church, recognized by all the civilized world, lays indeed the great privilege of the American nation. America enjoyed many privileges, which the European nations had not, as there are the vast extensions of her fertile soil, her fine climate, a population showing its energy from the beginning by crossing an ocean, but above all America from its first starting point in the beginning of the 17th century, had the great examples, the models of sixteen centuries of European civilization to look at for the establishing of institutions in the New World. Henry Hudson and his companions on the Half Moon, the Pilgrims on the Mayflower, the immigrants brought over by William Penn, the crowds of numerous vessels that follow the first settlers, they all were poor as far as material goods was concerned, but on their little ships and in all the plain methods of their living they brought with them immense riches and an inexhaustible source of wealth and happiness of life, as they bore in their persons and in their education the dear results of sixteen centuries of Christian civilization to start their new life with in a new world. The greater were these riches, because they found in their new country no civilization at all, no inveterated institutions to fight against, no royalism, no aristocracy, no feudalism, none of those anachronistic institutions, against which in the old

1) Hebr. XII:I.
2) John Calvin. Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews Chap. XII;I. Ed. Baum and Cunitz, vol. 56, p. 170.

country every reformatory movement had to fight in streams of blood and tears, in intolerable suppressions and endless persecutions. The more intense were these spiritual riches of those first immigrants, since they lived and grew up in a time of renascence and reformation, when every institution and every principle in state and in church, in domestic and in social life had to prove its validity and stability in the reality of life and everybody in his own life had to face the practical application of good or bad princlples, the influence of good or bad institutions. Theirs was the unique opportunity to realize the best thoughts of the most sublime thinkers, to plant over into their virgin soil the best models of European institutions, to follow the examples of the greatest statesmen, the deepest reformers, the heroes and martyrs of the most holy devotion to righteousness and truth.

It is here that the splendid history of the American colonies and of the United States begins its glorious course; a course, which, from its very exceptional nature every man of learning must be anxious to follow. For at the very starting point of American history the interesting question arises: Which lines of thought for their state and for their churches, for their domestic and their social life the settlers should follow; which models of institutions they should plant over; which examples and ideals of leading men they should imitate. This, indeed, is one of the most interesting questions in modern history and in the history of the world; a question as to what extent in the 17th century the leading nations of Europe communicated their prevailing ideas for the institutions of the state and church and society to the settlers of the American colonies; to what extent they gave the direction in which the spirit of the American people should develop and consequently decided upon the institutions and the future of the American nation. For in a certain respect the growth of a nation is like the growth of an individual man; the deep impressions of youth, the influence of education and the direction once given to life, never can be extirpated and always retain an influence upon the future character. Now this influence, as far as America is concerned, is principally confined to the four nations of England, France, Germany and the Netherlands, and it is therefore to these four nations, that in this extremely important matter our attention is to be paid. No other nation of Europe, not Spain nor Portugal, not Sweden

nor Norway, not Russia nor Poland, not Hungary nor Italy, not Switzerland nor Greece had any significant influence on the North American colonies. They may have had some influence later through their numerous emigrants but before this happened, the character and the spirit of the American nation already was determined and the American institutions had been established.

First of all and most palpable is the influence of *Old England,* at least when we include the influence of *Scotland* and *Ireland.* To deny this can be only the result of the same ignorance and narrow-minded bigotry, which characterizes some types of English Tories, who cannot see anything in America, that is not English, neither anything in England that is wrong, nor anything in other nations that is right. The ties that bound many of the early settlers to England, Scotland and Ireland are the ties of blood and of consanguinity and the descendant even of the most persecuted Irishman or Scotchman, English Independent or Puritan, however many his grievances may be against English tyranny, feudalism and aristocracy, he always will feel the old love for the sweet home of his forefathers. I can understand that when he is thinking of the beautiful country sceneries, of the ivy-grown rectories, the old village churches and the church yards, where he looks upon the graves of his ancestors, that he feels like the Hebrew by the rivers of Babylon and says in his heart: If I forget thee, O Land of my fathers, let my right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I do not prefer my old country above my chief joy."[1]) I do not intend to say that the French and and German and Dutch did not feel the same kindred love for their own old fatherland, but the large number of settlers from the British Islands, the prevailing use of the English language and English literature inspired by the fascinating charm of English rural life gave these feelings for Old England an exponent indeed, above those for the other countries of Europe. Only one thing is never to be forgotten, when the English predominance in America is spoken of, viz., that a great part of those English speaking immigrants were either Scotchman or Irishman or so-called Scotch-Irish, all people, who did not adhere but rather abhorred English government and English institutions; further that even most of those im-

1) Psalm 137:5, 6.

migrants, who came more especially from England belonged to the persecuted Independents and Puritans, whose whole life of sufferings and persecutions was a living protest against English State and English Church practice; and finally that only a small part of the English speaking population in the American colonies could be registered as real typical English, dreaming of Royalism and Toryism, of High Church Prelates and Landlords with their country-slaves. This small part of pure and typical English, protected during more than a century by the English government and under the leading of imported High Church clergymen, certainly had some influence on America, an influence of obstruction to the growth of American Republicanism and Democracy, but the war of independence showed clearly enough, how little even under protection of the government, that influence was. As far as the adherence to English institutions is concerned, we may freely say that no part of the American colonists was more anti-English in its ideas, than the greater part of the English speaking population consisting of Scotch-Irish and English Independents, of Puritans, Baptists and Congregationalists, all of whom preserved the remembrances of English suppression and English persecution in the records of their own families, whose love for Old England was mingled with feelings of sorrow and grief, and for whom the map of England was sprinkled with places, where their ancestors suffered in damp dungeons, or were burned alive at the stake, or had a narrow escape from the zeal of their persecutors. Certainly the influence of the English speaking people in America can hardly be overestimated as they have been able and all of its different elements have co-operated in communicating the English language and English literature and many of their domestic and social habits to the American nation. But when the majority of these English speaking people sing the American national hymn: "My country 'tis of thee, sweet Land of Liberty", it is not in adherence to English institutions, it is not in admiration for Old England, where they had neither land nor liberty. To speak of the English influence on the development of the American nation taking all the different elements of the English speaking colonists together, can not have any other result but the most complete diffusion, since the influence of the Scotch-Irish, of Independents, of Baptists and Congregationalists differs diametrically from that exerted by the typical

English Tories. These Tories, the only true representatives of Old England institutions, so mighty in Old England, so great in arrogance in America, but so little in number, had indeed but little influence, except in their obstruction, on the growth of the American Democracy.

Quite a different position from that of the English was taken from the beginning of the American colonies by the *French Protestants.* The influence of those French refugees or *Huguenots,* as they are commonly called, has been a very particular one. We find them very early in colonial history, and we find them scattered over all the American colonies from North to South. Already on the Mayflower, among the very first Pilgrims, was a Huguenot by the name of Guillaume Molines, whose daughter was the famous Priscilla, who married John Alden, became the ancestress of the famous New England family the Aldens, and was immortalized by the poem of Longfellow, himself one of her descendants. From this descent, too, was John Adams, the second president of the United States. 1) In New York the first civil governor of the Dutch colony Peter Minuit, who bought Manhattan from the Indians, was a French Huguenot 2) and the first pastor, Jonas Michaelius, administered the Lord's supper to the French members of his congregation in the French language. The foundation of the Huguenot settlement at New Rochelle, is as well-known as the name of the famous John Jay, first justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S., a Huguenot descendant and Alexander Hamilton, who had in his veins Huguenot's blood on his mother's side. In Delaware and Pennsylvania Huguenots were found among the first settlers. "The band of refugees collected by Jesse de Forest reached New York in the spring of 1623." 3) "Prior to the grant to William Penn in 1681 the region, now known as Pennsylvania and which then included the state of Delaware, contained many French refugees among its inhabitants." 4) Thousands of Huguenots followed these first settlers but the exact value of the contribution of the French Protestants to the building of the Republic no wisdom can estimate, so early, so continuous, so complete was the assimilation of this people

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1) Lucien J. Fosdick, The French blood in America, 125.
2) C. W. Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration I. 75. Minuit was deacon of the Walloon church in Wesel, so he was not a german as is told by A. B. Faust. The German element in the U. S., I;10.
3) Ibid. 225.
4) Ibid. 290.

into the English colonial life." 1) The French refugees entered with earnestness and vigor into all the hopes and plans of the new nation. They gave property and life in behalf of the principles they had so eagerly championed in France. 2) They faced danger and had their full share of suffering in the struggle for independence. A considerable number of those of direct Huguenot descent were men of large influence, whose ability was widely and cheerfully recognized and whose names were enshrined in the grateful affections of the people. Of those refugees as a whole Henry Cabot Lodge speaks as follows: "I believe that in proportion to their numbers the Huguenots produced and gave to the American Republic more men of ability than any other race." 3)

Not less persecuted and suppressed in their native country than the Huguenots and most of the English speaking emigrants, were the *Germans,* "who, driven from the Palatine by Louis XIV found a home mainly in Pennsylvania and in Central New York." 4) Little is known of the first German emigrants who settled themselves among the Dutch population of New Netherland during the first 50 years of colonization. 5) Not before the year 1683 the first German colonists landed in Pennsylvania from the ship Concord, 6) and so the Germans had no influence upon the earlier period of American History. Yet from the arrival of the first colonists till the Revolution nearly one hundred and fifty thousand German emigrants came to the shores of America, forming one half of the population of Pennsylvania, besides large settlements in the provinces of New York, the Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland and Georgia, not to mention the small and ill-fated colonies of Mr. Law on the Mississippi and those in the state of Maine. 7) In the Revolutionary war these Germans proved already an important factor of which the name of General Herkimer, originally Hirchheimer, is a sufficient proof. They

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1) ibid. 18.
2) For these principles see the works of Calvin, Beza Hotman, Morney du Plessis, Languet, Godefroy and many anonymous pamphlets more than 300 of which are reprinted by the Genevean pastor Simon Goulart under the title: Memoirs de l'etat de France sous Charles IX, 8 vols.
3) L. J. Fosdick, 18, 19.
4) Douglas Campbell. The Puritan in Holland, England and America, II. 470.
5) Frans Looher. Geschichte und Zustande der Deutschen in Amerika, 29.
6) Lucy Forney Bottinger. The Germans in Colonial Times, 29. F.
7) ibid. 5. The best work on this subject, altho not without errors, is that of **Albert Bernhardt Faust. The German element in the United States, 2 vols.** Boston and New York, 1909. The author give a bibliography on the subject of eighty pages and says that a complete bibliography is being made by **Richard E. Helbig.** Assistant Librarian. New York Public Library and that this bibliography already exceeds ten thousand titles.

were the staunchest defenders of American liberties, 1) and their influence in colonial times on the formation of the character and the institutions of the American nation, altho difficult to specialize can be well understood from the character of these cononists and the causes of their emigration. All these German emigrants at least the two first generations consisted of the secretaries who were persecuted in Germany by state and church, 2) Mennonites and Pietists, Labadists and Schwenkfelder, all friends of William Penn, the leader of the Quakers. They fled from persecution as truly as did the Huguenots and the English Independents and Puritans, and consequently they fostered in their new country the same feelings against any system of political or ecclesiastical tyranny, feelings which determined their convictions and their behavior for many generations in the future. A second cause was the social condition in which the invasions and devastations of Louis XIV and the numerous wars in Germany these people had brought. Liberty in state, in church and in society was the ideal, which inspired these German people, but the realization of this ideal and the institutions for the practice of these principles they sought in vain in their old country just the same as the Huguenots in France and the Pilgrims in England.

The only land in Europe where the persecuted and suppressed of all nations found refuge and sufficient protection under a government and under institutions, that guaranteed freedom in political ,in ecclesiastical and in social life, was *the Republic of the Netherlands* and therefore on this country the eyes of all suppressed and persecuted in Europe was fixed to escape their tyrants, and after they had enjoyed the hospitality of this country, they looked out for a new fatherland, which most of them found in the new world of America. Not only the Pilgrim fathers enjoyed the hospitality of the Netherlands for many years before they sailed for their new country, but Huguenots and Germans as well, found their first refuge in the Low Countries and stayed there until they got an opportunity to find a new and fertile land, where they could enjoy peace and liberty. It is for this Republic of the Netherlands, that I ask for a moment your kind attention especially in how far it exerted some influence on the development, the

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1) Douglas Campbell II, 470.

2) Judge Karl von Lewinski in his booklet The United States and Germany says; "Driven first by religious intoleration, later by oppressive social conditions." p. 3.

character and the institutions of the American nation. I found this influence exerted mainly in a threefold way, viz.:

1st. By the general position of the Netherlands during the time of American colonization, when Holland attracted the attention of the whole world;

2nd. By the influence of Holland on the English Pilgrims as well as on the Huguenots and German emigrants;

3rd. By the own colonies of the Dutch Republic in America.

However, before I give a further explanation of these points, allow me to make two points, one as to the neglect of Dutch History and of Dutch influence on America, and another as to the danger of exaggerating this influence by one-sided Dutch patriotism.

As to the neglect of Dutch history especially by English and Anglo-American historians many complaints have been made, not only by Dutch scholars, whom I do not mention, because they might seem to be partisan, but also by English authors of the best fame. *Washington Irving,* well known for his love of England, and so much cherished for his tale of Rip van Winkle, 1) fruit of juvenile ignorance, and for his history of New York, in later years admitted by himself as a "coarse caricature" 2) Washington Irving makes the complaint a general one when he writes: "I would place implicit confidence in an Englishman's description of the regions beyond the cataracts of the Nile; of unknown islands in the Yellow Sea; of the interior of India; or of any other tract, which other travelers might be apt to picture out with illusions of their fancies. But I would cautiously receive his account of his immediate neighbors and of those nations with which he is in habits of most frequent intercourse. However, I might be disposed to trust his probity, I dare not trust his prejudices." 3) As Holland, indeed, belongs to England's neighbors with which the Englishman always was "in habits of most frequent intercourse", an Englishman's account of Holland, according to Washington Irving must be "cautiously received."

A well-known English historian, *E. M. Davies,* wrote in

1) Dr. Griffis says: "Washington Irving without having seen any but the southern portion of decadent Holland took the world wide myth of Rip from the Shop, which has nothing in it peculiarly Dutch, out of its setting in Germany, located it in the Catskills and made a funny picture of New Netherland men and ways," The Story of New Netherland Preface VIII.

2) Life of Washington Irving by his nephew I, 183.

3) Washington Irving Sketchbook, chap. VI.

1841: "There is scarcely any nation whose history has been so little understood or so generally neglected as that of Holland, and, he adds, none perhaps, which better deserves the consideration of every thinking mind." 1) It seems to be difficult for an Englishman of the ordinary kind, to respect other people than those of his own nation. *A Venetian traveller,* who wrote the *"Relation of England"* in 1500 nearly four centuries ago, says: "The English are great lovers of themselves and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves and no other world but England." 2) Every American schoolboy knows, that the English general Cornwallis surrendered with his whole army to George Washington and Lafayette. Now the American writer *Elbert Hubbard* while traveling in England found the carved marble on the grave of General Cornwallis with this inscription: "He defeated the Americans with great slaughter." 3) The same kind of Anglomania we find in many books on American history as far as the Dutch and their influence on America is concerned. "In hundreds of volumes says *Dr. Griffis,* "purporting to be serious history, Irving's comic supplement to the early history of New York is quoted as both fact and truth." 4) Reading those books one should hardly believe that the Dutch had any influence at all, even in their own colonies in America, and if so, that influence seems to have been either *unlawful* or *immoral.* The history of the Cabots, who saw the coastline of New York from afar, is repeated again and again in numerous books as a serious ground for English rights on New York against the unlawful Dutch, altho no international law in the World and no jurist on earth ever recognized a seeing from afar without any occupation as a right whatever In many textbooks of American history the story is told, based on the records of an English tobacco merchant, that the first twenty slaves in the year 1619 were brought to America "in a Dutch ship," making this, without any further explanation, the impression on the students of history, that the Dutch were the great slave traders, the *immoral* intruders in English colonies. Poor Dutchmen! Already 100 years before, in 1534 twenty two thousand Christian slaves were delivered from

1) C. M. Davies, History of Holland, I, 1.
2) Douglas Campbell, The Puritan I Preface 31 note.
3) Elbert Hubbard, Little journeys to the home of good men and great, 460.
4) William Elliot Griffis, The Story of New Netherland, Preface.

slavery by the Dutch in the war with Tunis,1) and 50 years before that mentioned Dutch ship the English sea-hero, John Hawkins, in 1562, brought not less than 300 slaves to South America and even Queen Elizabeth took part in those enterprises of John Hawkins. The well-known historian *Bancroft* tells us that in the single century before the Declaration of Independence, England kidnapped from Africa over three millions of slaves and the numerous laws of the American colonies against the further introduction of negro slaves, all were vetoed in England as detrimental to English prosperity. 2) Such are the facts which give another impression about slave trade in America than the only mentioning of a Dutch vessel with 20 slaves in the records of an English tobacco merchant. But in rejecting such neglect of Dutch traditions, we have to take care,—and this is my second point—not to fall into the onesidedness of exaggerating, by patriotic feelings the influence of the Netherlands. The interpretation of history and of national traditions is a serious matter; it is a matter of love for the truth, which is as sacred here as in any other part of human life. Knowing the faults as well as the good qualities of a nation and its institutions, which I had the opportunity to observe nearly all my life, I wish not to stand before you as a one-sided Dutchman, stupidly proud of his native country, willingly underestimating its faults and overestimating its good qualities. The two years I enjoyed the hospitality of America in visiting the great universities, the fine sceneries of American nature, the centers of American business, have made me love America and the American people. Becoming acquainted with the finest people I ever met, altho descendants of the most different nationalities, I learned more than ever before, that the privilege of producing the best men, does not belong to one or the other nation, and I was cured from the last rest of narrow-minded patriotism. Seeing the American energy, feeling the American spirit, I felt myself living in the country, where the heart of the human race beats sounder than in old Europe; I felt myself living in the country where the world's history of our time has its headquarters and I wished myself to be a real American. And since the University of Chicago laid on my shoulders a beautiful but difficult task, I will try to perform it in a real American spirit, explain-

1) Groen van Prinsterer, Textbook of Dutch History, 75.
2) James Anthony Froude. History of England VIII 483 v. Douglas Campbell, The Puritan I 395.

ing the history, the institutions and the influence of the Dutch nation; seeking the truth and nothing but the truth.

Now, after this two-fold remark I am going to explain first the general position of Holland and its influence in all Europe during the time of America's colonization, being the first half of the 17th century. I begin with saying that never since the birth of Christ one nation in Europe had a more splendid position than the Dutch Republic at that time. Listen to some quotations of the best historians. *Hildreth* says that in the time, in which Hudson sailed under the Dutch flag, the Dutch were "fast coming forward as the leading commercial power of Europe." 1) *Prescott* tells us that already in the time before Hudson, "the commerce of the Netherlands stretched to the remotest corners of the globe; that the Dutch fleets were to be found on every sea; in the Euxine and in the Mediterranean, they were rivals of the Venetians and the Genoese and they contended with the English and even with the Spaniards for superiority on the narrow seas and the great oceans. The wealth which flowed into the country from this extended trade was soon shown in the crowded population of its provinces and the splendor of their capitals. At the head of these stood the city of Antwerp as the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands. Two hundred and fifty vessels might often be seen at the same time taking in their cargoes at her quays. Two thousand loaded wagons from the neighboring countries of France, Germany and Lorraine daily passed through her gates and a greater number of vessels, freighted with merchandise from different quarters of the world, were to be seen floating at the same time on the waters of the Scheldt. 2) The famous English historian *Froude* says that in the time of Queen Elizabeth the Dutch Provinces, "were thriving beyond all other parts of Europe; their great cities were the marts of the world's commerce, their traders covered the seas and the produce of their looms was exposed for sale in every market place in Christendom." 3) *Thorold Rogers*, a member of the English Parliament and well-known professor of economics says:

"During the century, which intervened between the truce of 1609 and the treaty of Utrecht, the Dutch occupied the most conspicuous place in Europe. They were courted by rival powers, and during the devastating wars of the 17th century

1) Richard Hildreth, The History of the United States I, 98.
2) William H. Prescott, History of the Reign of Philip the Second. Book II. Chap. I.
3) J. A. Froude, History of England, IX 313.

were for a long time the center of European commerce and European finance. Their principal city Amsterdam was deemed to be the largest and by far the most opulent in Europe" .... "The business of Europe was transacted on the Amsterdam Exchange".... "It was the principal trading, the principal manufacturing country in the World."..... "There was no department of learning or skill in which the Dutch did not excell." 1) Another historian of our time *Ellis Barker* says:

"More than two centuries ago the Netherlands occupied a great and glorious position which was almost identical with that occupied at present by Great Britain, for the Dutch then possessed a world-empire, which, like the present British Empire, was based on trade and industry." 2) "The material successes of the Dutch," wrote *Alexander Young,* the American historian, "stimulated intellectual progress and thus the Dutch welcomed learned foreigners to their shores and became leaders in scholarship. At about the time that Piet Hein was capturing the Spanish silver-fleet and while Tromp and De Ruyter were fighting their way to fame, Descartes was philosophizing in Amsterdam, Grotius was founding the science of international law and Golius, the eminent orientalist and successor of Erpenius at Leyden, was enriching the renowned University, which had numbered among its professors Scaliger, Lipsins and Heinsins, with a remarkable collection of Arabic manuscripts, that he had secured during his four years travels in the East. Europe was astonished at the varied triumphs of the hardy Republic 3) *Hallam,* the author of the work entitled "Literature of Europe,' says that "Holland at the end of the 16th century and for many years afterwards, was pre-eminently the literary country of Europe." "The Dutch," he says, "were a great people, a people fertile of men of various ability and erudition, a people of scholars, of theologians and philosophers, of mathematicians, of historians and we may add of poets." 4) *Macauley* says that the "aspect of Holland in the 17th century produced on English travellers of that age an effect similar to the effect which the first sight of England now produces on a Norwegian or a Canadian." 5) Above all, Holland was the stronghold

1) Thorold Rogers, Story of the Nations, Holland, 215, 217, 221.
2) Ellis Barker. The Rise and Decline of the Netherlands, 5.
3) Alexander Young. History of the Netherlands, 663, 664.
4) Henry Hallam. Introduction to the Literature of Europe III 278, IV 59, Campbell, I, 82.
5) Thos. B. Macauley, History of England, chap. II. Printed also by Campbell, I, 82.

of all Protestantism in Europe. "Religion," says *Leopold von Ranke,* "was the reason of the resistance of the Netherlands against Spain, not the economical question of the so called tenth-penny tax." 1) In the great struggle with Spain the Dutch people had gained its political and religious liberty; this free country became the place of refuge for all suppressed and persecuted for conscience's sake, and the cities of Holland sometimes were crowded with the refugees of France, of Germany and England, who escaped from deadly persecution and found protection under the flag of the United Provinces. Holland was indeed what the Scripture calls, "a city set on a hill, which cannot be hid," 2) but was seen by everybody in all Europe; its institutions in politics and in ecclesiastics, in economic and domestic life, in art and science were well known by all civilized people, especially by the Prostestants, among which were nearly all the future settlers for the American colonies and the splendid position of Holland made it a matter of course that the Dutch institutions were looked at with the greatest respect and that they left an impression on the future colonists of America, never to be forgotten and influencing their ideas in establishing their institutions in the new world.

Such being the general position of Holland, special attention is to be paid,—and here we approach the second point concerning the influence of the Netherlands—to the manifold connection of Holland with those English, German and French people from whom almost all of the emigrants for the American colonies came forth.

The close connection of Holland with those *German* people, from which most of the German colonists in America came forth, is evident, since most of them belonged to religious denominations as Reformed, Mennonites and Labadists, which flourished in Holland or even found there the very cradle of their belief. About the connections between the Mennonites and the Quakers, Lucy Forney Bittinger in her book: "The Germans in Colonial Times," says: The Mennonites of Holland and Germany offered a prepared ground for Quaker missionary endeavors; the two sects held many principles in common, as the wrongfulness of war, of judicial oaths, of a paid minis-

1) Leopold von Ranke. Welgeschichte IX Vol. 2, 148.
2) Matth. 5:14.

try, of ornaments in dress, and of infant baptism." 1) The weavers of Crefeld, the old home of the Germantown colonists, 2) like many of the Labadists and Mennonites, came from the borderland between the High and Low Dutch. 3) They spoke the language of the border provinces between Germany and Holland, and their acquaintance with Dutch life and Dutch institutions must have been a very familiar one. They lived among and with the Dutch people and it seemed difficult to discern the German element from the Dutch even in Pennsylvania, where on the 12th day of October, 1683, a warrant was issued to Pastorius and his colonists for six thousand acres of land, "on behalf of the German and Dutch purchasers." 4) The three visits of William Penn, the son of a Dutch mother, through Holland and Germany, could not remain without result and the name of Pennsylvania Dutch even till the present day given to the language of the Pennsylvania farmers, means for those, who know a little of history, something more than a mere nickname of American slang. Outside of Pennsylvania most of the German settlers sought and found a home among the Dutch colonists of New York, along the Hudson and the Mohawk and in New Jersey, becoming acquainted most closely with Dutch life and Dutch institutions also in the New World. Delivered from feudalism and tyranny, from war and persecution in their old German country, they sought the blessings of Dutch liberty and Dutch self-government, blessings which they enjoyed in the new country and for which in later time they offered their property and their blood with the other American colonists in the great struggle for independence.

On the *French Huguenots* and their emigrants to the American colonies the influence of the Netherlands is not less evident. Thousands of Huguenots fled to the Netherlands during part of the 16th and the whole 17th century. In more than 60 places in Holland French churches were found. 5) In Amsterdam one time the number of poor Huguenots, who lived from charity amounted to 1700. 6) The Dutch hospitality towards the persecuted people of all countries, got an exponent with the Huguenots, since almost all of them belonged

1) Lucy Furney Bittinger. The Germans in Colonial Times, 22.
2) L. F. Bittinger, 99.
3) ibid. 36.
4) ibid. 29.
5) H. J. Koenen. The French refugees in the Netherlands (written in Dutch) 100 and C. W. Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration to America, 2 vol.
6) ibid. 100.

to the Reformed churches and confessed the same Calvinistic doctrines, which prevailed in the Netherlands. The principles, which the most highly educated scholars and leaders of the Huguenots as Beza, Hotman, Morney du Plesis, Languet, Godefroy and others 1) had laid down in their books and pamphlets in France, defending resistance against tyranny, representative government and freedom of religion, they found to a great extent realized in the Netherlands, and a close and manifold connection between these French Protestants and the Dutch could not fail to have some consequences, when thousands of the French Reformed settled themselves among the colonists of America. 2) From every part of the American colonies these scattered Huguenots looked upon the Dutch Republic as the land of the kindest hospitality for thousands of their compatriots, as the only land where the institutions in state and church and society realized their sacred ideal. Indeed, as far as the Huguenots in America had any influence in establishing the institutions for the colonies and for the United States, there is no doubt at what country of Europe they must have looked for models and great examples. The nobility of their character, their grateful remembrances, the most sacred principles for which they suffered persecution and exile are our infallible guarantee that their eyes must have been fixed upon the Dutch Republic.

As far as the Dutch influence on *the English speaking* emigrants is concerned, we have to distinguish again the different elements of this part of the American colonists.

On that part of the English colonists, which consisted of Royalists, of real Conservatives or *Tories*, of High Church ministers and their adherents, who lived and died for Royalism and Conservatism, for feudalism and landlord-aristocracy, I confess without any hesitation that the Netherlands had no influence at all, except that of making them incurably prejudiced against the Dutch name.

On another part of the English speaking colonists, the Dutch had no influence either. I mean *the Scotch-Irish*. Not because they rejected every principle of Democracy as the Tories did, but because they held from themselves the same

1) A collection of more than 300 Huguenot pamphlets printed under the reign of Charles IX, has been reprinted by the Genevean Reformed minister Simon Goulart in 8 vols.

2) About the influence of the Dutch on the Huguenot settlers on the Hudson river, see Irving Elting. Dutch village communities on the Hudson river, 62, 64.

ideals, the same principles, the same creed with the Reformed Dutch and Huguenots. In the works of Scotch leaders as John Knox and George Buchanan 1) we find the same principles, which the leaders of the Huguenots and the Dutch Reformed propagated; in the Scotch covenant we see the same practice which we find in the resistance of the Huguenots and the Dutch Protestants. They had the same sympathy with the Dutch for religious liberty, for representative government and democracy and the same antipathy against Royalistic tyranny and aristocratic arrogance.

A considerable influence however was exerted by the Netherlands on another part of the English speaking colonists, viz.: *the Puritans* and *Independents*. The Pilgrim fathers and later the Puritans and Independents nearly all came from those eastern and southern counties of England, the population of which had been for centuries "in habits of most frequent intercourse" with the Netherlands. Already William the Conquerer brought over a number of weavers from Flanders, who founded the prosperity of Norwich. Nearly 300 years later Edward III embraced the scheme of colonization with greater vigor and invited over a number of skilled Flemish artisans who settled principally in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex counties. 2) In the 14th century Flemish gardeners and cultivators were in much demand in all parts of Europe and many Flemish farmers went over to England to the alluvial plains of East Norfolk. 3) When Wyckliff arose in the 14th century to preach the doctrines of a reformed faith, he found most of his adherents among the weavers of Norfolk. 4) During the persecution of Charles V and Philip II the little stream of emigration from across the Channel swelled into a mighty river. 5) The historian Davies estimates that before the termination of Alva's rule over one hundred thousand heads of families had left the Netherlands and Green puts the number of them who came to England at over 50,000, 6) most of whom located in London and in the eastern and south-

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1) Especially in the famous booklet of George Buchanan entitled: De jure regni apud Scotos, translated in Dutch by Ellert de Veer in 1598. Mary Stuart the Scotish Queen is told to have said that she was more afraid of that one man (John Knox) than of an army of fifteen thousand soldiers. George Buchanan was the tutor of the later King James V of England, and one time asked why he made such a learned fool of him, he answered: That this was the best he could make of him.

2) Douglas Campbell. The Puritan, I 299.

3) ibid. I 112.

4) ibid. I 488.

5) ibid.

6) ibid. I 489. Davies History of Holland I 567. Green. Hist. of the Engl. people II book VI Chap. V.

ern counties. The influence exerted by these foreigners upon the religion and the politics, the moral and economical life of their adopted land, an influence so long neglected by the earlier English historians, is more and more recognized in later time by the best authors. Now it is remarkable that in these counties, where during centuries the Dutch exerted their influence the Dutch Democracy arose and the stronghold of Puritanism and Independence is to be found. In these counties the Pilgrims lived and were persecuted; from there they fled to the Netherlands to live during eleven years among the Dutch people of Leyden and Amsterdam with many other English refugees, before they sailed for the new world. 1) In the midst of these English refugees at Amsterdam in the year 1610 a number of them came under the influence of Dutch Anabaptists, accepted a new baptism at the hand of the Mennonites and founded a little congregation under the name of Baptist Church. This first English Baptist Church at Amsterdam was the first beginning, the very cradle of the great Baptist movement and of the Baptist churches in England and America. The Baptist churches in later time erected a number of Baptist colleges and one of these Baptist colleges became the first foundation of the University of Chicago. "When the civil war broke out in England, a war in which the insurgents demanded the civil rights long established in the Netherlands and in the Netherlands alone, the army of the king was recruited mainly from the northern and western counties, while that of the Parliament was recruited from the eastern and southern counties in which the Netherlanders settled." 2) Cromwell and Fairfax, Algernon Sidney and William Russell all were born in those eastern and southern districts. The famous Ironsides of Cromwell were trained by Colonel Dalbier, a Hollander the same who gave Cromwell his first instruction in military art. 3) The well-known historian *John Fiske* in his book on the beginnings of New England estimates that two-thirds

1) A remarkable example of Dutch influence in Massachusetts is given by Miss Ruth Putnam in her lecture on "The Dutch influence in the United States," published in Nijhoff's Bijdragen 1910, p. 180 concerning the celebration of the earliest wedding in Plymouth Colony and told by Edw. Winslow, "which according to ye laudable custom of ye Low Countries in which they had lived was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate, as being a civil thing upon which many questions of the heritance depend." "This decree of law, says Winslow, about marriage was published by the State of the Low Countries Anno 1590." In G Brandt, Historie der Reformatie I 572, quoted by De Meester Nijhoff's Bijdragen I vol. IX p. 227. I found that as early as 1576 the Prince of Orange in his interpretation of the new ordinance for the Church said: Reasons why we all things relative questions of marriage have reduced to the civil government."

2) Douglas Campbell I 497.

3) Ibid. I Preface.

of the Puritan settlers of New England came from those same eastern counties of England, where during centuries the influence of the Netherlands was exerted. 1) Without mentioning the thousands of Englishmen, who served in the armies of the Dutch Republic and other thousands, who found as refugees a temporary home in Holland, 2) we find the influence of the Netherlands on England especially on the eastern and southern counties so continuous during centuries and so important and almost overwhelming at some times,3) that the history of Puritans and Independents and of the American colonies never fully can be understood without recognizing this factor. Seeing the truth in history, we understand that the Ironsides, who stood with Cromwell and Fairfax, were the same people of the eastern and southern districts, as the colonists of Bunker Hill, who stood with George Washington fighting for the same principles of civil rights, taught among their ancestors during centuries by thousands of people from the Netherlands.

Now after having traced the influence of the Netherlands on America, *first,* by the general position of the Dutch Republic in colonial times, and *secondly* by their relations with the German, French and English emigrants, *finally* I will try to give in a few words an idea of the influence of the own colonies of the Netherlands on the development, the character and the institutions of the American nation.

According to Dr. Griffis, four of the original thirteen American colonial states were settled from the Netherlands. 4) Besides educating the Pilgrims and many of the Puritan founders of New England in their free Republic, Dr. Griffis says, "The Dutch stamped their genius ineffaceably upon the entire region of America—the four middle states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware—from which came forth so many of those great constructive measures, which have helped first to make and then to preserve the American Union. These states, he says, originally settled by the Netherlands, were moulded by the various peoples coming from the cosmopolitan Republic, and the eastern counties of

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1) ibid. 498.
2) ibid. I Preface.
3) Douglas Campbell says that never the world beheld a missionary work on such a scale as that of the Dutch in the eastern and southern districts of England. I 493.
4) William Elliot Griffis. The Story of New Netherland. Preface IX, X. The best works on New Netherland are undoubtedly J. R. Broadhead. History of the States of New York, 2 vols. 1571; and the numerous works of O'Calleghan. Further J. H. Innis New Amsterdam and its people, 1902, and the many sources quoted by these authors.

England who took many of their precedents and progressive ideas directly from Zeeland, Friesland or Holland. 1) The real Dutch colonists of New York and the other middle states mixed with many refined Huguenots and sturdy Germans took from the beginning the central position in the American colonies, living between the Puritans of Massachusetts and the Quakers of Pennsylvania and uniting all the colonists in their love for liberty and independence. 2)

According to the old and conservative style of historiography, history was the narrative of kings and governors, of wars and taxes, and in this style the American history since the capture of New York in 1664 is the narrative of English governors and English taxes, of English High Church and English armies. But the historians of our present day do not care so much for the history of kings and prelates, but their search is for the history of the people, its economical conditions its religious feelings its domestic life its political institutions, its art and science, and following this method in American History, the English political varnish soon is swept away and the real history of the American people is found to be the history of Puritans and Independents of Germans and Huguenots of Scotch-Irish and Dutch settlers, all of whom fostered the same ideas of democracy and independence; they all lived for a time under English Royalism, of which the adherents formed only a small part of the colonists, predominant, while protected by the English government and laid by High Church ministers. Nothing more than the Revolutionary War showed this to be the real situation. The more the old and superficial style of historiography will be abandoned, and the real history of the people is researched, the more the influence of the Dutch Republic on Puritans and Independents, on Germans and Huguenots, an influence even in America preserved and strengthened by the presence of Dutch colonies, will be evident; an influence in perfect harmony with the ideals and aspirations of the Scotch-Irish, that most powerful English-speaking element; 3) an influence that fostered the ideals of liberty and independence, of democracy

1) W. E. Griffis. Motley's Dutch Nation 916 also J. R. Broadhead History of the State of New York. Preface p. 1.

2) About the influence of the Dutch on religious liberty and on the system of free church in America see **Irving Elting. Dutch village communities on the Hudson river, 65 and 14-15.**

3) Douglas Campbell. The Puritans. II chap. 23 on the Scotch Irish in America. A remarkable chapter in this interesting work.

and "selfdirection," 1) developing into the real spirit of America, the spirit of "selfreliance." 2) By studying the real history of the people, it will be evident, that by studying Dutch institutions, we do nothing else but what the Pilgrims and the Huguenots, the Germans and the Dutch emigrants did in colonial times, when they, abhorring the tyranny of kings and prelates, they found in the glorious Republic of the Netherlands the only institutions that corresponded with their religious and social, their political and commercial aspirations. The spirit of America, the character of the American nation and the American institutions grown up largely under this influence, neither Royalism and Toryism even not with all the power of the British Empire could maintain its predominance, nor the influx of thousands upon thousands of emigrants could change it. "The soul of the American people" says Henry van Dyke, "was already living and conscious in colonial days," 3) with all its ideals, moral convictions and vital principles, those most important factors in history, and since that time we see the continuous influx of new immigrants, with "that strange process of moral generation by which qualities of the spirit of America have been communicated to millions of immigrants from all parts of the world."4) Especially the continuous interstate immigration, says Prof. Butler, 5) planted the spirit of America forth and forth from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and further until the states of the Pacific, so that the soul of the people of America today is the lineal descendant of the soul of the people, which made America in the beginning." 6) It was that soul, with its ideals, convictions and vital principles that consolidated the various elements of Pilgrims and Huguenots, of Scotch-Irish and Germans and Dutch into one people growing in history as the American nation. And seeing how this nation is growing all the time on the same foundations on which in the 17th century the Dutch Republic was founded, I agree with England's greatest statesman Gladstone, when he one time said: "I incline to think that the future of America is of greater importance to christendom at large than that of any other coun-

1) Hugo Munsterberg. The Americans. He finds in political life the spirit of self-direction, in economic life the spirit of self-initiative, in intellectual life the spirit of self-perfection and in social life the spirit of self-assertion.
2) Henry van Dyke. The spirit of America. 40.
3) Henry van Dyke. The spirit of America. 19.
4) ibid. 24.
5) Nicholas Murray Butler. The American as he is. 7, 8.
6) H. van Dyke. 17.

try."1) Edmondo de Amicis,2) the Italian author, tells us that Philip II of Spain called Holland the land nearest to Hell and in this royal language of the Spanish king Holland for England could be called the land nearest to Purgatory; but for the American colonists it was the only land of liberty, the only splendid model of a mighty Republic in modern history and in this respect and as far as it is allowed to continue in the language of the Spanish king, it might be called the land nearest to Heaven.

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1) North Amer. Review Dec. 1889, quoted by Douglas Campbell. I 5.
2) Edmondo de Amicis. Holland. Translated from the Italian. 2.

II.

DUTCH AND AMERICAN HISTORY

THE TWO SISTER REPUBLICS IN MEDALS

These three medals showing the sympathy of the Dutch people for the Americans during the war of independence, were made during that war. The first one shows Friesland shaking hands with America and refusing the laurels offered by England, while the English dog is barking. On the second one we see the two Republics shaking hands. On the third one we see the Fame riding on the clouds and bearing the Arms of the Netherlands and the United States. For full explanation of these medals see Yearbook of the Holland Society of New York, 1892-1893.

A COMPARISON

There are few things in the world more instructive and by which we learn better to estimate the real value and the true character of subjects than by comparing them with others. As everything in the world is imperfect and nothing without and to those of the other men, then first we see the brilliant we are always comparing them with other things and that we almost always establish our ideas by comparison. If for instance we look at a picture of Rembrandt without any idea of the pictures of other masters, we can enjoy it, we can have the experience of the agreeable and sweet impression it makes upon our aesthetic feelings. But when we compare that picture of Rembrandt with some other pictures of well known painters of lower rank and we look alternately to the one of Rembrandt and to those of the other men, then at first we see the brilliant colors, the luxury, the wonderful light, then we feel the soft and quiet impression, then first we enjoy the wonderful creation of the great master, and by comparison we establish our conviction that Rembrandt must have been a master of the very first rank. So our idea of a fine building largely depends upon that of other buildings with which we compare it. The beauty of Niagara Falls is wonderful in our eyes especially when we compare it with that of other falls in the world. If there were in every state of America a number of falls of the same kind it would probably seem to us just an ordinary thing to look at the Niagara Falls, but now, as we know that even the Rheinfall at Schaffhausen is very small and indifferent compared with this wonder of nature on the border of Canada and the United States; now, as we know that in the whole world only the Victoria Falls of Zambesi in Africa can be compared with it, it must seem to us, as it really does, to be one of the greatest wonders of nature in the world and we estimate it as such.

So in ancient times Plato formed a model of a state in the world of his ideas and Aristotle another one from a great number of existing governments, both in order to be able to compare the state in which they lived with the models of their

philosophy and so by comparison to instruct their compatriots and to ameliorate the institutions of the Greek.

And was not it Christ himself, of whom we read that "he taught many things by parables" 1) and what is this but that he gave to his disciples an opportunity to learn by comparison and to teach the church of all ages, that there is affinity in all creation, an affinity apt for manifold comparison, so that even in accordance with the nature of all creatures there is so much to be learned in comparing things?

For this reason I thought it might be useful for the knowledge of American history and American institutions as well as for the better understanding, and—as I hope—for the better appreciation of Dutch institutions and Dutch history, to make the subject of this lecture a comparison of Dutch and American history.

In doing this I begin by saying that this subject is not new at all. The second president of the United States, without doubt one of the greatest statesmen America ever produced, John Adams, who in the most sorrowful time of American history risked his life to cross the ocean to stay in Holland for a long time in behalf of his country: the man by whose negotiations the independence of the United States was acknowledged by the Netherlands, an event which he himself considered as "the greatest success in his life," 2) John Adams, who may be estimated as knowing both the history of Holland as well as that of America, wrote in 1782: 3) "The originals of the two republics are so much alike, that the history of one seems but a transcript from that of the other." The more remarkable are these words of the great American statesman, as he lived in the time of the revolutionary war and did not know how the great republic of the United States would develop, how in later time the balance of two parties, the main points of their difference, the character of the civil war, half a century after his death, should give so many more striking points of comparison between the Dutch Republic and the Republic of the United States above those which he could look at. And even not knowing this and looking only on what happened before his time and on the situation during his life, John Adams so intimately saw and felt the affinity of

1) Marc. 4:2.
2) The life of John Adams begun by John Quincy Adams, completed by Charles Frances Adams. I. 494.
3) The Works of John Adams, VII, 400.

the two Republics, that he wrote: "If there was ever among nations a natural alliance, one may be formed between the two republics. The first planters of the *four northern states* found in this country, viz., the Netherlands, an asylum from persecution, and resided here from the year 1608 to the year 1620, twelve years preceding their emigration. They ever entertained and have transmitted to posterity, a grateful remembrance of that protection and hospitality, and especially of that religious liberty they found there, having sought them in vain in England." "The first inhabitants of *two other states,* New York and New Jersey, he says, were immediate emigrants from this nation, and have transmitted their religion, language, customs, manners and character; and America in general, until her connections with the house of Bourbon, has ever considered this nation as her first friend in Europe, whose history, and the great characters it exhibits in the various arts of peace as well as achievements of war, by sea and land, have been particularly studied, admired and imitated in every state."

"A similitude of religion, he says, although it is not deemed so essential in this as it has been in former ages to the alliance of nations, is still, as it ever will be, thought a desirable circumstance. Now it may be said with truth, that there are no two nations," I am quoting still John Adams, "whose worship, doctrine and discipline are more alike, than those of the two republics.

"A similarity in the forms of government is usually considered as another circumstance, which renders alliances natural; and although the constitutions of the two republics are not perfectly alike, there is yet analogy enough between them to make a connection easy in this respect. In general usages and in the liberality of sentiments in those momentous points, the freedom of inquiry, the right of private judgment, and the liberty of conscience, of so much importance to be supported in the world, and imparted to all mankind, and which at this hour (he speaks of the year 1782) are in more danger from Great Britain, and that intolerant spirit which is secretly fomenting there, than from any other quarter (in all these things he says) the two nations resemble each other more than any others." 1)

In resuming his comparison John Adams finally speaks of an analogy between the two nations, "an analogy of re-

1) Works of John Adams, vol. VII. 399, 400.

ligion, of government, origin, manners and the most extensive and lasting commercial interest" 1). Such was the opinion of John Adams the best authority for this matter that can be found in the world; a man, famous for his learning, for his ability as statesman, for his knowledge of comparative history, in whose soul was the real American spirit, and who knew, by his living and his negotiations in the Netherlands, better than anyone of his compatriots the history and the character of the Dutch people.

Now in taking up the subject, which John Adams treated with so much sympathy a hundred years ago, I hope I need no further apoligising in calling your attention to some of the most characteristic points both in Dutch and in American history, to show you, if there is some reason for comparison and by consequence some source of learning for those, who wish to enrich their knowledge and their interpretation of American history and American institutions. I do not intend to call your attention to some fact or other or to some interesting point hidden in one or the other corner of a little known story. If I did so, I should feel more dissatisfied myself than one of you ever could feel. What I wish to call your attention to are only the main facts of American History, facts and events found not only in a happy moment of keen observation but in the foremost chapters you find in every textbook and even in every primer for the American youth, leaving it to every scholar to find many more interesting details in working out these simple outlines. These main points in American history are the following ten:

1. The colonial period.
2. Suppression by the foreign sovereign ending in revolution.
3. Declaration of Independence.
4. The Act of Confederation.
5. War of Independence under the leadership of the father of his country.
6. A critical period.
7. A period of growing of the Republic under the balance of two parties.
8. Conflict of the two balancing parties ending in a civil war.
9. Continuation of the two parties till our present time.

1) John Adams' Works, VII, 401.

10. The democratic, the republican, the religious and social spirit of the people visible during the whole history.

I think these ten points are not artificially arranged but may be considered as the most natural series of historical facts you find pretty nearly in the same order in every book of American history.

After this general view of American History I will take up every textbook of Dutch History and show you a series of the following facts:

1. A period of separate provinces lying independent from each other.

2. Suppression by the foreign sovereign ending in revolution.

3. An act of confederation in the Union of Utrecht, 1579.

4. A declaration of independence or abjuration of the foreign sovereign, 1581.

5. A war of independence under the leadership of the father of his country.

6. A critical period, 1588-1598.

7. A period of growing of the Republic and the balance of two Parties.

8. A conflict of the two Parties ending in a civil war, 1616-1619.

9. The continuation of the two Parties under different names till our present time.

10. The democratic, the religious, the social, even the republican spirit, altho it be under the leadership of the House of Orange visible during the whole history.

I am not afraid that there is any scholar in the world, who will come and say that this series of facts is not the most natural one of the main events in Dutch History. Now I am going to show you what you might think an almost incredible thing, viz., that you can compare exactly every point of this series of facts in American History with the corresponding point of the series of events in the History of the Netherlands; events which take place in earlier time, under other circumstances, on the other side of the ocean but with a striking likeness to the events in American History.

The comparison is so striking that, after having put before your attention both the series of events, they hardly need any more explanation. Nevertheless for those who had no

time to occupy themselves especially with both American and Dutch history I will explain with a few words every point of American history and compare it with the corresponding event of Dutch history.

1. The first point in American History, I was speaking about, was the Colonial Period, the time in which the various American colonies lived separately, each under its own charters and privileges, some of them first under Dutch government, most of them under English sovereignty and in later time all of them under England.

Corresponding with this Colonial Period we find in Dutch History just the same first period in which every province stood separately under the sovereignty of a foreign power, till in the year 1548 the emperor Charles V brought all of them under the House of Austria. This period of the Dutch Provinces, which I may call for a moment the Dutch Colonial Period, goes far back in history, comprehending many centuries, and we can say that even from the very first beginning of history as far as we know it, from the times of Julius Ceasar and Tacitus, the inhabitants of the Netherlands lived in a Colonial way every part of the country having its own separate position mostly under the sovereignty of a foreign power. The richness in events and interesting stories of this long colonial period in Dutch history, and the importance of it for the economical development, for the history of civilization, and all the experiences the provinces had by their lack of union is so abundant in learning, so full of thrilling stories, and beautiful dramas of every kind, that it really forms an inexhaustible source of research and of illustrations for the main questions in American Colonial History. And just as it is rooted in the Colonial Period that the great American Republic still bears the plural name of the United States, so and for the same reason Holland is still the only country in Europe which bears the plural name of the Netherlands, during the 17th and 18th century called in Dutch *"de Vereeringde Gewesten,"* in French *"les Provinces Unies,"* in English *"the United Provinces,"* nearly the same name as the United States.

2. The second point in American and in Dutch History I called to your attention is the suppression by the foreign sovereign power ending in revolution. How England suppressed the American Colonies, "without attention to justice,

humanity and decency," 1) "attempting to change the whole system of the government of colonies and reducing them by oppression to the necessity of governing themselves," 2) I do not need to explain as I suppose you know it as well as I do. Just the same happened in the Netherlands. Beginning with the persecutions under Charles V, the population of the Provinces in the Netherlands under Philip II of Spain became oppressed and persecuted, and the whole system of their government became changed in such a way as to bring them to the necessity of governing themselves. No charter nor privilege remained unviolated, and the struggle of the Dutch people was so much like that of the Americans against England that John Adams says: "that every Dutchman instructed in the subject, must pronounce the American revolution just and necessary, or pass a censure upon the greatest actions of his immortal ancestors; actions, he says, which have been approved and applauded by mankind and justified by the decisions of heaven." 3)

3. The third point in American History, which I mentioned the Declaration of Independence in the year 1776 followed the next year by the Articles of Confederation, gives a little irregularity in the comparison to this extent that in the Netherlands we come first to the articles of confederation in the Union of Utrecht in the year 1579, and two years later to the Declaration of Independence in the abjuration of Philip II in 1581. Both these great events however happened in America within two years and in the Netherlands within three years. Otherwise the comparison is as remarkable as could be. To compare the Declaration of Independence of the American Colonies with the Abjuration Act of the Netherlands, to read the arguments of both these historical documents is as instructive for the interpretation of American as it is of Dutch History.

4. The same is the case with the fourth point, viz., the Articles of Confederation corresponding with the Union of Utrecht in the Netherlands. Both can be considered as a kind of new constitution for the uniting colonies as well as for the uniting Provinces of the Netherlands. For the interpretation of each of them the student of history has a useful example in the other one. The same problems they had to solve, the same

1) John Adams' Works, VII, 402.
2) ibid. 403.
3) ibid. 400.

difficulties to face, the same necessity of a constitutional base for the new Republic was felt by the leading statesmen in America and those in the Netherlands, and it is most interesting to see in which points they agree and where their solutions differ.

5. In the fifth place the Americans had a war of independence under the leadership of George Washington, afterwards called the father of his country, and, as everybody knows, the Netherlands had in just the same way their war of independence under the leadership of William of Orange, afterwards and for all ages to come called the father of his country, only with this difference that father William fell during the war, but after having performed his great task, under the murderous hands of an hired assassin, while George Washington saw his country delivered from all enemies and enjoyed the freedom of the United States after an awful struggle full of sorrow and grief. George Washington and William the Silent! Who in the whole world, unless he be an old fashioned Tory or a Spanish bigot can hear these names without affection and without thinking of those dreadful struggles of a whole nation against the merciless cruelty of their desperate tyrants first in the Low Countries across the ocean and afterwards on American soil? Where in the whole civilized world is the schoolboy, who does not know these two noble names, what student or scholar can think of these two men without thinking of the two free Republics, the two lands of liberty, the United Netherlands and the United States? And to know these two names, what does it mean else than to remember and to compare the struggle of the United Provinces with that of the United Colonies, the twofold struggle for liberty in behalf of the human race, the twofold struggle which is embodied and personified in the noble names of these two heros?

6. After the revolutionary war—and here we come to the sixth point of comparison—in American History follows the period called by John Fiske and after him by all the historians the critical period, including the years from 1783 to 1789, the first period of the New Republic of the United States. Years of manifold dangers for the unity and stability of the federal government; years with dangers from within and without; years in which the greatest skill and ability of the best statesmen and politicians was needed. In the larger

works on American history a special volume is devoted to this critical period. 1) . One may question about the beginning and the end of this period, but that the time following the war of independence was indeed a critical one for the new Republic, there is no question about. And now, in the Netherlands how was the period after the Declaration of Independence and the confederation? The most critical period in Dutch history was coming. Especially the ten years between 1588 and 1598 are perhaps the most critical of the History of the Netherlands. 2)

In Holland the critical period is longer than that in America, as the war of independence lasted there eighty years. But the fact, that the most critical period follows shortly after the Declaration of Independence and the Confederation in Holland as it did in America, is it not a remarkable event, worth while to compare that period of both the Republics one with the other and see what were the dangers that threatened, and the ways in which they were warded off?

7. As the seventh point I mentioned the period of growth of the United States and the development of two political parties. Within a few years the United States are rising to a power, wonderful in the eyes of all Europe, and within the great Republic very soon two political parties are forming the main balance of power, preserving by their antagonism the good equilibrium. It must seem nearly tedious and tiresome to tell you that just exactly the same thing happened in the Republic of the Netherlands; the Republic growing very fast and two political parties developing from the very starting point of the confederation and from the day of the Declaration of Independence. Two parties, forming the balance of power, correcting each other, fighting against each other, and uniting their forces only against the common foes of the Republic.

8. The following point, being the eighth one, shows us in America as well as in the Dutch Republic the history of the two balancing political parties, and the conflict of those parties ending in the civil war. The differences between the parties and the main principles on which they were based even were the same in both the Republics. In America one party

1) Albert Bushnell Hart. The American Nation, vol. XX by Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin; John Fiske: The critical period and others.
2) R. Fruin Tien jaren, p. 3. This book of the great historian Prof. R. Fruin treats especially the critical period in Dutch History.

held to the sovereignty of the individual states, the other to the sovereignty of the union. Just the same the parties in the Dutch Republic did. In America the conflict of the two parties resulted in a dreadful civil war that cost the Republic the lives of more than seven hundred thousand citizens and thousands of millions of money and not without reason the Americans in remembrance of this war erected a statue of weeping America near the Capitol at Washington. In the Netherlands the same conflict of parties resulted in what they call the *"sharp resolve"* of 1617, which says Fruin, *"included a civil war"*! This sharp resolve taken by one of the parties was answered immediately by the other party, at the head of which was Prince Maurice. The prince did not wait till the war came upon him but declared war by taking prisoners the heads of the opposite party and by this act, although unlawful, he prevented a civil war at large and the bloodshed of perhaps thousands of citizens.

9. After the civil war—and this is the ninth point—we see the national life in the United States growing and developing, but always the same two political parties continuing their own points of view. "The main issue may be often confused and beclouded, but in reality," says Henry van Dyke, "political opinion, or perhaps it would be more correct to say political feeling, divides on this great question of centralization or the division of power. The controversy lies between the two forms of the spirit of self reliance; that which is embodied in the consciousness of the whole nation and that which is embodied in the consciousness of each community." 2) The same we see to a great extent in the history of the Netherlands till the fall of the republic and even again in the nineteenth century the same old parties revived with many of the same old religious and political feelings only with platforms changed in accordance with the demands of changed circumstances. Especially one great question between the two parties in the Netherlands during the nineteenth century may be useful to be mentioned here. I mean the question of the neutrality of the public schools in connection with a Christian education. This question was solved in the Netherlands only after an awful struggle between the parties during half a century. At

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1) R. Fruin. Verspreide Geschriften, IV, 25. Fruin says: "Een burgeroorlog lag in de resolutie opgesloten." He calls it: "Een van de meest roekeloose besluiten die ooit genomen zijn," ibid. 24.

2) Henry van Dyke. The Spirit of America. p. 61.

last the parties agreed in that way, that now the private schools where the bible is considered an essential element also in school education can get financial aid from the state. Since the use of the bible last year is forbidden in public schools in America, the same decision which was taken in the Netherlands in the year 1857, I should not wonder if the same question followed here after the same cause, and the solution at last found in the Netherlands might be useful in America as well.

10. Now after this little excursion in American and Dutch politics I come to the tenth and last point of comparison, being this, the democratic, the republican, the social and religious spirit visible as a permanent character of the American as well as of the Dutch people through their whole history. Many pages have been written about the real spirit of America especially during the last years. Now you can call it a spirit of self direction, of self initiative, of self protection, of self assertion, as Prof. Munsterberg does, 1) or you can call it a spirit of self reliance, the love of fair play, the energetic will, the desire of order, the ambition of self development as Henry van Dyke does, 2) it is always the same democratic spirit, making no difference of classes, but trying to educate the whole people, giving everybody the same equality of opportunity, a spirit deeply rooted in the religious feelings of the whole people. 3) which you find so largely as well in the Netherlands, especially in the time of the great Republic. It is that same spirit of freedom of conscience, of liberty in religion that, starting from the Reformation, had its influence at last on every part of life and penetrated the spirit of the whole nation. The same religious and self reliant spirit, so remarkable in the Netherlands of the seventeenth century, the time of Holland's glory and power you see and feel in our present time in America.

Now being at the end of my comparison, I will ask this question of the best scholar in history, if there is any thing in history like these ten points of striking resemblance between two nations, between the history of two Republics like those of the Dutch Republic and the great Republic of the United States; if there are two nations on earth which have in their history and character something common like these two na-

1) Hugo Munsterberg. The Americans, p. 3, 229, 347 and 531.
2) Henry van Dyke. The Spirit of America, p. 262.
3) Nicholas Murray Butler. The American as he is, p. 68, 69. Van Dyke, p. 42.

tions; if it is not really true as John Adams wrote that the history of one seems but a transcript from that of the other.

I agree with Herbert Spencer when he complains that modern history as it is commonly told, is a mere tissue of names and dates and dead unmeaning events, which do not illustrate the right principles of political action! But can there be anything better to illustrate the right principles not only of political but as well of religious and social and economical actions to illustrate the lives of great men and the progress of a whole nation than comparing them with so striking paralells, still so different in details as we find in American and Dutch History?

It certainly is an interesting thing to contemplate the great facts of American history, the development of the great commonwealth based upon principles of liberty and equality, to contemplate them in contrast with the old tyrannical system of European royalism, with its privileges of classes, with its suppression and persecution. But is it not much more interesting to contemplate a series of the main facts and of great events in the history of two nations like in that of Holland and America, to compare them, to see how each of them got through the same difficulties, how they had to solve the same problems and how they were inspired by the same spirit?

If history, as often is told, really is philosophy taught by facts; if the experience of individuals as well as of nations is the mother of wisdom, is it not then a privilege, which can hardly be overestimated, to have before you nearly all the main facts and events in the history of your nation and to be able to give an interpretation of those facts, based on a double experience?

I know that some of the best known American historians and authors as Motley and Prescott, Douglas Campbell and Ruth Putnam Dr. Griffis and Alexander Young have devoted respectable parts of their lives in studying Dutch history and that their works have been received in America with the greatest sympathy. But none of them paid special attention to a comparison of Dutch and American history on which already John Adams so decidedly had fixed the attention and which I have tried to explain at the hand of facts and events.

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1) Herbert Spencer, Education, chap. I, quoted by Ellis Barker, The Rise and Decline of the Netherlands, p. 7.

III.

WILLIAM THE SILENT

Hic ille Auriacâ est Heros de stirpe Wilhelmus, Fundator
Pacis, Martio Belga, tuæ. Quis sit nomen habes, satis hoc. qui
Cætera nescit Principis hic nescit bella, trophæa, fidem,

Crispiaen van québoren figuraſit et ſcalpſet Broer Janſon excuid. Hage.

A HERO AND MARTYR OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL LIBERTY

There are two powers in history, two directions of life, one more idealistic and spiritual, the other more emperical and materialistic. The materialistic power seeks its ideal in the luxury and splendor of life, in eating and drinking, in dressing and high living, in chatting with relatives and friends, in exhibition of riches and wealth. The spiritual forces try to uplift the human soul to higher thoughts and ideals, to cultivate the higher aspirations, to save the human race from sinking away in material joy, to keep the elite of the nations from worshipping the golden calf and from degenerating to society fools. On one side the necessity of providing for the material needs of mankind and the devotion to economical business undeniably causes the balance of human existence to lean to the side of materialism; on the other side it always has been up to the churches and to the universities to keep the balance in equilibrium; to provide for the spiritual needs of mankind; to maintain the consciousness of the higher destiny of man; to inspire the nations of the earth with the principles of right and wrong, of nobility and beauty; to give a direction to intellect and feelings higher than that of brute power of material wealth; to create an atmosphere in which every degrading bacteria must die, and every ideal feeling is easily grown by the fertility of a well prepared soil. For in this the heathen philosopher and the Christian Apostle agree that "we are the offspring of God." 1)

Looking at this question, it is indeed one of the most splendid things, we enjoy in America, viz., that so many men of high standing in business, men who had to spend a great part of their lives in economical things, in making money in producing material riches, in building up large fortunes, that they still have felt so well the need of higher ideals, the need of

1) Acts 17:28, 29. The Apostle Paul quotes here half a verse of Aratus, so using "the testimony of a poet, wherein was extant a confession of that knowledge, which is naturally engraven in men's minds," Calvin. Commentaries upon the Acts translated into English, p. 169.

cultivating spiritual nobility that they offered important parts of their accumulated wealth for universities and churches. This shows undeniably the broad-mindedness of these kings and emperors of American democracy; it shows the extensive and unlimited capacity of the energetic American spirit; but it does not take away the fact that in all history, and in our time as well, the brute materialism, with all its carnal luxury and its ostentatious splendor always was and is in opposition, and even in competition and warfare with the idealism of spiritual life and its hidden splendor and luxury of higher aspirations.

To a certain degree in every human life there is that conflict between the lower material joy, the attraction of wealth and luxury on one side and the higher power of spiritual life, the inspiring ideals of humanity and Christendom, the eternal principles of right and wrong, of love and beauty of the soul on the other side.

Now it is hard to find an example in the world's history of a human life in which that conflict took a sharper form, produced a nobler struggle, offered a more beautiful solution, resulted in a more splendid triumph of higher aspirations and finally ended more tragically than the life of William The Silent.

It is now three hundred years ago that this brilliant star arose at the horizon of the civilized world and after three centuries the effect of its blending light is still visible on the sensible plate of human consciousness. Three hundred years have passed away since all Christendom was in excitement over what the Prince of Orange performed as the task of his life, a task in which he was upheld by thousands in prayers by day and night, and which other thousands abhorred and cursed as the most devilish work in the world. On one hand the king of the mightiest empire with all his armies, with all his priests brought his forces in the field against him, and at last issued the murderous ban calling him a traitor and miscreant, a pest and an enemy of the human race; at the other hand a whole nation in the depth of deadly suppression and persecution looked at him as the only man whom God gave to deliver them from tyranny, while the Lutheran Princes in Germany, the Hugenot nobles in France and the Protestant people in England watched his deeds with interest and sympathy. When his life was taken by the most horrible assassin-

ation, the priesthood of the whole Catholic Church rejoiced in the abominable crime and Te Deum's were sung to Almighty God and at the same time a feeling of abhorrence went through the souls of all Protestants in the world, and thousands and thousands mourned in sorrow because they had lost their father William, in whom next to God was all their hope and their help. His name was a name either of the most kindred affections and the deepest sympathy or a name of the most horrible hatred and aversion; a name in all Christendom, sounding like the word of God, a name as a two-edged sword piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit. Heb. 4:12.

At the present time we find the name of William the Silent on the pages of every book on modern history; the triumph of his cause is applauded in every continent of the globe; the blessings of his struggles are recognized as blessings for the whole human race; books and pamphlets about his life and his deeds are so numerous and some of them so elaborate that apologizing seems nearly necessary when I try to take his mighty appearance as the subject of a single lecture. Even within the last years two works of repute in America have been published, one by *Miss Ruth Putnam,* in two volumes, being the most elaborate, and one by *Frederic Harrison,* in one volume; the last one called by Prof. Blok, 1) and not without reason, the best biography of William The Silent. In these volumes you find many particular things of the Prince's life, from his birth 2) in 1533 till his death in 1584, and I suppose you do not expect that I would devote this lecture to a narrative of facts and events, which you can read every day. Even who William The Silent was in the circle of his family and his friends, what is known of his hospitality, how he stands before us as a Christian, as a statesman, as a general

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1) Frederick Harrison. William the Silent, translated into Dutch with introduction by Dr. P. J. Blok, p. 1.

2) Till our present day there has been a question about the birthday of William the Silent. So for instance among the best Dutch authors P. C. Hooft gives April 14; J. Wagenaar April 14; Bilderdyk and Van der Aa, April 16; according to Motley it would be June 25; Groen van Prinsterer, Harrison and Ruth Putnam give April 25 and Prof. Blok in the work: Je maintien drai, vol. I, p. 127, decides for April 24. The only way to get a final decision seemed to me a research in the Archives of the House of Orange at the Hague and of the Nassau's, formerly at Dillenburg. From Professor Kramer, at present the archivist of the House of Orange I received a letter in which he told me that the original certificate of the birth of William is in the archives of Orange and further that in this original certificate the real birthday is given as Tuesday, April 24, and Prof. Blok was so kind to write me another letter in which he says that the question is decided by an autograph of William's father, written at Dillenburg on the day of the birth and in which he tells that William was born in the year 1533 on Tuesday, April 24, between two and three o'clock in the morning. It seems strange to me that neither Ruth Putnam nor Harrison mention the question and just simply give a wrong date.

on the battlefield, I may, as things too well known, mention only with a few quotations of the best authors.

In his family life and in the circle of his friends the Prince had a natural ability for the most pleasant entertaining and from his youth had learned to make himself beloved. "In winning the hearty sympathy of his acquaintances, *the Jesuit Strada* says, he was a real artist even if he only once met them," 1) and *Schiller* says that "a greater master in reading and in winning men's heart never existed than William. 2) The hours of repast were the sole hours of relaxation, but these were exclusively devoted to his family and his friends." 3) "Never," says *the Roman Catholic Pontus Payan*, did an arrogant or indiscreet word issue from his mouth under the impulse of anger or other passion; if any of his servants committed a fault, he was satisfied to admonish them gently without resorting to menace or to abusive language. He was master of a sweet and winning persuasion, by means of which he gave form to the great ideas within him, and thus he succeeded in binding to his will the other lords about the court as he chose; beloved and in high favor above all men with the people, by reason of a gracious manner that he had of saluting and addressing in a fascinating and familiar way all whom he met." 4) "There is universal testimony, says *Ruth Putnam*, that his manners were genial and charming and won him many friends." 5) His hospitality was proverbial especially when he lived as the wealthiest prince in Christendom in his magnificent palace at Brussels. The twenty-four nobles and eighteen pages who formed his suite, the tables loaded day and night with choice dishes and wines required an army of cooks and servants. As a measure of economy he in one day discharged at one time twenty-eight cooks, who bore a high reputation as having served in his palace; and later King Philip wrote from Spain begging the Prince to let him have a certain master "chef" sent from the household at Breda, the other palace of the Prince." 6) He enjoyed material wealth but never as an ideal or as the end of a man's life; he used it as instrumental for higher purposes of life and it is characteristic of his idea and esteem of material wealth, when he smil-

1) P. C. Hooft, Nederlandsche Historien. Chap. 20, p. 809.
2) Quoted by Henry Smith Williams, The Historian's History of the World, vol. XIII, p. 385.
3) Ibid.
4) Pontus Payen, quoted by Harrison 17, and Motley, I, 204.
5) Ruth Putnam II, 429.
6) Harrison 16. On the hospitality of the Prince see Motley I, 203.

ing boasted in a letter to his brother John, that they came from a race who were, and are now and forever will be bad managers in youth, though they improved when they got older." 1) As a soldier, says *Miss Putnam,* "he did not shrink from dangers. In his early lieutenant days he built the forts 2) under the enemy's eyes. In the campaigns of 1568 and 1572 he did not spare himself, he went into Leyden when the place was reeking with pestilence and during the last years of his life he pursued his way undaunted by the assassins whom he knew might be hiding behind any arras." 3) But he was careful, prudent and cautious. Neither the defeat of Jemmingen (in 1568) nor that of the Mook Heath (in 1574) where he lost two of his brothers, Louis and Henry, would have happened, says *Groen Van Prinsterer*, if the advice of the Prince had been followed. 4) This prudence was interpreted by his enemies as cowardice, as he never gave them an opportunity to get hold of him. "But his natural bias was certainly that of a statesman rather than that of a warrior," 5) and in the quality of a statesman he stands unmatched in history, and the great end of his policy was as Groen van Prinsterer says, to deliver Europe from political and religious despotism." 6) As for his religious faith, from his pious mother Juliana von Stolberg, a Lutheran of deep sincerity, a woman of affectionate nature, he received in his early youth a religious education that left its traces through his whole life, like Augustine from his mother Monica. When a boy of eleven and page of the emperor he grew up as a Catholic, till in 1567 he returned as an exile to the home of his family, studied the works of Melanchton and joined the Lutheran Church of his parents; the next year he speaks even of the idolatry of the Roman Catholics, 7) and at first in 1573 he found final rest for his soul and satisfaction for his intellect in the deepest interpretation of Christendom that reached him in Calvinism and he joined the Reformed Church. These changes of his confession were interpreted by his enemies in the most unfavorable way and ascribed to faults of his character or to circumstances of his life, but the truth is that as he found many true and faith-

1) Ibid.
2) Viz, the fort of Philipeville in 1555 to protect Brabant against the French.
3) Miss Putnam II, 430.
4) Groen van Prinsterer. William the Silent from his correspondence, 7.
5) Miss Putnam II, 431.
6) Groen van Prinsterer, ibid. 18.
7) Archives de la Maison d'Orange—Nassau III, 201.

ful friends among Lutheran and Catholics and Reformed, he never laid stress upon the difference and never tried by logical reasoning to make the differences alone the deciding points of a man's inner faith and of his external destiny. As for himself, he at one time wrote to the magistrates of Ghent: "It ought to be incredible, that some people can doubt my zeal for religion, for which I so much suffered."

But all this you can easily find in books and is not what I wish to explain in this lecture. What I wish to call your attention to is the main question of William's life, the great task which he performed in solving at least practically one of the most important questions in history and for which he lived as a hero and died as a martyr. In order to do this I will speak to you:

1. About the great question over which all Europe was in excitement during the 16th century.

2. I will try to explain how William the Silent became the man, able to solve this question.

3. How this Prince as a real hero fought in a deadly struggle risking everything on earth.

4. How he suffered and died as a martyr for his holy and sacred cause in behalf of all nations in the world.

The great movement, which made the time of the Renascence and the Reformation in the 16th century the beginning of a new era in the world's history, touched the fundamental ideas about State and Church, about the character of human nature and man's relation to God. And yet, it may seem paradoxical and still it is true, that all the blood shed, all the persecutions, all the religious wars, the loss of hundred thousands of lives, the devastations of whole countries during the 16th and the 17th century was not due directly to the differences of church doctrines, neither to the faults and errors of the Roman Catholic church, nor to the faults and abuses of priests and monks, but was only a question of application of some principles in which all parties, Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany and Italy, in Switzerland and Spain, in France, in the Netherlands and in England perfectly

1) Archives, VII, 20.

agreed. 1) Not the differences of church doctrines and dogmatic errors. These differences do exist at the present time as well and perhaps still more than three hundred years ago, and yet we have in our time no such religious wars, nor such persecutions, nor such bloodshed for religion's sake as we see in the 16th and 17th century. But it was the principle that the Sovereign of the State ought to maintain the true religion and to extirpate with his sword all heresy; the old doctrine that the sovereign is like the father of a family, taking care of the material and spiritual needs of his relatives; the old heathen doctrine of Plato and Aristotle and of the Roman emperors, transplanted by the Emperor Constantine in Christian soil, applied by Charlemagne and by all mediaeval princes, and as an inheritance of many ages accepted without remarks by all nations of Europe in the first period of modern history.

I do not deny that in the freedom of inquiry in the equality of all men before God and in the priesthood of all believers, those fundamental principles of the Reformation 2) lays the germ for the abolishing of this old heathen principle. I know very well that this germ gradually develops among the Huguenots in France, among the Reformed and the Anabaptists in the Netherlands, among the Independents, the Baptists and Congregationalists in England and America, till at last a full grown new and better system was obtained; I know as well that even in the 18th century the old heathen system re-

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1) The **Roman Catholic doctrine** is too well-known to need any quotation. The same is the case with the **Lutheran device:** "cuius regio; illius religio." **Calvin** wrote: Augustine shows how ashamed Christian princes ought to be of their slothfulness if they are indulgent to heretics and blasphemers and do not indicate God's glory by lawful punishments. . . . "it follows that kings are bound to defend the worship of God and to execute vengeance upon those who profanely despise it," etc. **Com. on Daniel, English translation, p. 246.** Even **Michael Servetus** had the same conviction, as he wrote about the "incorrigibilis et malitia obstinata haeresis:" Hoc crimen est morte simpliciter dignum apud Deum et homines. **.M. Serveti Christ. Rest. p. 656, Ep. 28.** On the Synod of Dordt in 1618 and in the **Confession of the Reformed churches** in the Netherlands **art. 36** as well as in the Westminster Assembly and in **the Westminster Confession, Chap. XXIII, 3.** we find the same doctrine.

2) The freedom of inquiry was inconsistent with the authority claimed by the Roman Catholic Church and laid to the Reformation. The equality of men before God and the priesthood of all believers were ideas irreconcilable with the feudal authority of kings and the hierarchical authority of priests. Luther preached that "princes are usually the biggest fools or the worst knaves on earth." **W. A. Dunning. A history of the political theories from Luther to Montesquieu, p. 13.** Calvin taught the same when he wrote: "We know the fierceness and pride of kings; nay, we see them act like madmen, because they do not reckon themselves among mortals and become blinded with the splendor of their greatness." **Calvin Commentaries on Daniel II, 46.** .But while "the practical outcome of the Lutheran Reform was the appropriation by the secular authorities of much of that paramount influence in ecclesiastical affairs which was taken away from the Papacy" **(Dunning, 10)** and resulted in the device of the Lutheran Princes: **"Cujus regio, illius religio,"** the doctrines of Calvin had a far wider tendency. From the perverseness and sinfulness of human nature Calvin drew this double consequence: **First** that nobody can be without any error and therefore **some toleration** is necessary; and **secondly** that it is not good to give an absolute power in the hands of one single man and therefore a **representative government or a republic** is needed. **Calvin Institutes IV, chap. 1, 12**

vived in full glory in Rousseau's "contract" social, 1) and a new application of the old dogma was tried by the adepts of the French Revolution; I know all this very well, but nobody can deny the fact that in the 16th century all nations of Europe adhered to the old system; that Luther and Calvin as well as Philip II. and Catherine de Medicis were convinced in all earnestness, that the sovereign of each country had to maintain the true religion and to extirpate with his sword all heretics. Calvin allowed Michael Terretus to be burnt alive with no more hesitation than the Lutheran executed Nicolas Krell and so many other Calvinists and with no less hearty conviction than Philip slaughtered the thousands in the Netherlands; they applied the same principle as Catherine de Medicis when she murdered the Huguenots or the English Sovereigns when they persecuted alternately the Catholics and the Protestants. Nobody in that time had a better principle, a better system for the duties of the Sovereigns and for the limits of their power. They all considered their own confession as a grace of God and yet thought it their duty to have punished to death those who had not received the same grace.

And yet, the persecutions were so horrible and abominable; they hurt so intimately all human feelings that people of every party felt, there must be something wrong and the most consequent executors of the principle, which was part

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and IV, chap. 20-8. As to the right of resistance against tyranny Calvin says: "For earthly princes lay aside all their power when they rise up against God and are unworthy of being reckoned in the number of mankind. We ought rather utterly to defy them, than to obey them whenever they are so restive and wish to spoil God of his rights." **Calvin, Comm. on Daniel, English translation, p. 382.** Calvin himself really said it a little stronger than this English translation gives it. He wrote: "Potius ergo conspuere oportet in ipsorum capita suam illis parere," etc. **Corpus Reformation, Calvin, vol. 41, p. 26.** If we see further how Luther but especially Calvin put in the foreground the great principle of the priesthood of all believers and how this principle made a prophet, a priest and a king before God out of every believer even of the poorest man, poor but created after the image of God and called to glorify His Name, then we see how all our modern democracy indeed is rooted in these fundamental principles of the Reformation. And though the Reformers personally did not yet see the full consequences of these fundamental ideas it is right what **G. P. Gooch** says in his work: **English democratic ideas in the seventeenth century, p. 8:** "Modern democracy is the child of the Reformation, not of the Reformers." These principles were overlooked and probably never thought of by **John Locke** when he in his **Beacon Lights of History**, vol. III. p. 388 wrote: "There is nothing Democratic about Calvin."

1) **J. J. Rousseau, Du contrat social lib. IV, chap. 8.** About his civic state religion he says for instance: "Sans pouvoir obliger personne a les croire (viz, the articles of his state-religion) il peut bannir de l' Etat quiconque ne les croit pas," . . . "Due si quelqu'un apres avoir reconnu publiquement ces memes dogmes, se conduit comme ne les croyant pas, qu'il soit punit de morzt" . . . . "Mais quiconque ase dire: Hors de l'eglise point de salut, doit etre chasse de l'Etat," etc. How all these ideas of Rousseau were understood and interpreted in prastice, shows the history of the French revolution too well. Rousseau and his school gave the most absolute power to the sovereign people (that is: to the majority over the minority) to interfere with the most sacred liberties of the individual, more absolute than ever was given to any absolute sovereign. **Contrat social, I. chap. 6 and II, chap. 5.** See **Groen van Prinsterer Ongeloof en Revolutie** (the famous masterpiece of the great historian and statesman) chap. 9.

of the confession of all, were generally condemned for their cruelty. Notwithstanding the principle of persecution, which all confessed, there was a longing for toleration and for freedom of religion especially among those who were themselves the most persecuted; there was a protest of human nature against murder for religion's sake and the Protestants without much thinking of the system, just tried to escape practically from being murdered or persecuted and they looked everywhere for help to save their lives, and that of their relatives and friends.

But the Roman Catholics, who were the persecutors most everywhere, while they held the sovereign power, did not feel those scruples; they knew no hesitation and applied the principle of extirpating heretics with all the zeal of their conviction and with all the strength, which there is in the logical consequence of a principle. The king of Spain made up his mind to crush the Protestants in the Netherlands and would rather lose a thousand lives than reign over heretics. In France the Huguenots were the weakest party and every day in danger of being murdered in most parts of the country. In Germany the Lutheran Princes had a doubtful position in the Empire. 1) In England Queen Elizabeth not unwilling to reconcile with the Roman Catholics, was all the time looking with sorrow at what happened on the Continent. As a whole all Protestantism in Europe was in a dangerous condition. If Philip really succeeded in the Netherlands then first the Huguenots in France came in the greatest danger of undergoing the same fate, without finding any refuge in the Netherlands. And when once France and Spain had cleaned their countries, including the Netherlands, from all Protestantism, as really was their secret

1) A secret plot between the kings of France and Spain, proposed by Alva, to murder all the Protestants was revealed to the Prince of Orange in 1559 by the king of France during a stag-hunt in the Bois de Vincennes. The king, supposing that the Prince knew all about it, entered into every detail of the treaty. The Prince who did not know anything of it, kept silent and was astonished and deeply moved with pity for all those Protestants. He controlled his nerves but from that moment resolved to resist the whole plot and especially the King of Spain. It was from this story, told in nearly every book, that the Prince so often is said to have got the name of **"the Silent."** Even **Harrison**, p. 22 tells the story without any critic. Miss Putnam probably knew something about the new researches of Dr. Fruin, for she wrote: "The epithet was probably as little known to his contemporaries as it is a misnomer," I, 109. As early as the year 1864 Dr. Fruin made a special research in this question, the result of which is now reprinted in his **"Verspreide Geschriften"** VIII, 404-409, and in which he shows that the only foundation of the story, as far as the origin of the epithet of **the Silent** is concerned, is a mistake of the historian Van Meteren, repeated by Strada; that never his contemporaries called the Prince the Silent; that this epithet is not at all in accordance with the character of the Prince; that by his lifetime his people called him **"Father William"** and that therefore it is better also in uor present time to call him by that more characterstic name. An additional research of Dr. Blok, published in **Nyhoff's** Bijdragen Serie IV, vol. 8, p. 440, confirmed the results of Dr. Fruin's research.

plot, then England would have been conquered or without conquest been reconciled with the Roman Catholic Church and after that the German Prostestants never could have maintained their position. So the fate of all Prostestantism and the course of modern history in Europe and in America indeed depended largely upon what should happen in the Netherlands. If Protestantism had been crushed in the Low Countries, with its natural consequences in France, in England and Germany, there would have come not a single Protestant in any American colony or the cruelties of Menendes against the Huguenot settlements in Florida, would have been repeated on the shores of Massachusetts and New York. Such was the condition of Europe, such was the critical position of the Netherlands and of all Protestantism in the time when William of Orange appeared on the stage of history.

II. I now come to the second point and will try to show you how Prince William of Orange, in a providential way, was placed in the midst of the general excitement, how he has been able to give leadership and direction to the great struggle among all Christian nations and to solve at least practically the great problem. That William was born in 1533 at Dillenburg from Prostestant parents and baptised as a Lutheran: that he got his first education from his tender and pious mother; that he as a boy of eleven was brought to Brussells at the Court of the Emperor Charles V.; that he at the same age received an enormous inheritance from his nephew Rene, which made him the Sovereign Prince of Orange and at the same time the richest Prince in Christendom, I mention only as facts well known. The kind relations of the Emperor to William's father and his own nice appearance and character as a youth made him very soon the favorite of Charles V., but he was educated now as a Roman Catholic prince. His marriage with Anna van Buren the wealthiest princess of the Netherlands, gave him a still higher standing at the court and nine years later, in 1561, his second marriage with a Protestant Princess Anne of Saxony brought him again in more intimate relation with the Protestant Princes of Germany. The Emperor honored him with the greatest confidence, and William alone was permitted to remain in the Emperor's presence, when he gave audience to foreign ambassadors. To his high standing as the wealthiest Prince, his favor with the emperor, his consanguinity with the German Protestant Princes, his

acquaintance with nearly all prominent men among the Catholics, the charming attraction of his personal appearance, brought him in the closest relations of friendship with Protestants and Catholics both; his keen observation made him understand the whole situation of the ever growing conflict of thoughts; but his political and domestic rather than theological nature and education gave him a prevailing esteem for personal friendship, for appreciation of men, they might be Catholic or Protestant; he saw the good qualities in Catholics as well as in Prostestants and he enjoyed appreciating them; he disliked the feverish zeal of some Protestant theologians as well as the heresy-hunting fervor of some Catholic prelates. For years the Prince stood between the two parties; he saw the growing of the enmity; he saw the steady spreading of the Reformation; he saw the intentions and intrigues of the zealous Catholics. The more the great struggle approached to its crisis, the more difficult his position became. Even after the death of the Emperor Charles V William remained true to King Philip, although for many reasons he could not respect Philip personally as he had done the emperor. Nearly all prominent men among Catholics and Protestants were his acquaintances, most of them his personal friends. So everything in his education and in his life made him sympathize with toleration and freedom of thought for everybody. Without troubling himself much with the principles about state and church, he had a very strong feeling for toleration, which led him irresistibly to the practical solution of the great problem.

In his own Princedom, Orange, his aim clearly was, says Harrison, to effect a pacification and to establish a compromise giving liberty of worship and churches to each party." 1) As stadholder of Holland and Zeeland he was summoned by King Philip to enforce the bloody decrees against the Protestants and to punish every heretic to death. But the Prince, in 1664, being himself still a Catholic said: "As for myself, I shall continue to hold to the Catholic faith; but I never give any colour to the tyrannical claims of kings to dictate to the conscience of their people, and to prescribe the form of religion that they choose to impose." 2) And when the king insisted

1) Harrison, 41. Here, like in many other places, Harrison does not mention his source, which certainly must be considered as a fault. In this respect the work of Miss Putnam is much better than that of Harrison.
2) ibid.

and wrote, in 1565, that he never would live to be a king of heretics, and that neither his own peril, nor the ruin of these Provinces or even of all his dominions should stop him from fulfilling his duty as a Christian Prince, 1) then William at last (in Feb. 1566) wrote to Margeretha, the Regent of Philip, that if his Majesty and her Highness insisted on carrying out these edicts which he saw may lead to the utter ruin of the country, he asked leave to resign his offices. 2)

The Prince saw that the crisis now was to come; he knew the king; he had tried everything in vain to coerce the king in a better direction; he saw the whole situation in Spain, in France, in the Netherlands, in England and Germany; and when the king formally sent him a solemn and personal demand to sign a new oath *to serve the King without limitation or restriction*, the Prince refused positively; resigned all his offices and knowing his life no longer safe, left the Netherlands to retire to his family in the castle of Dillenburg.

III. Now with his retiring from the Netherlands a new phase begins in the life of the Prince, and here we come to explain the third point, viz., how Prince William as the leader of a whole nation and of thousands of people in other countries, stood for the cause of toleration and liberty, and fought as a real hero in a deadly struggle, risking everything in the world, which could be dear to man. For several years the Prince himself was conscious of the great struggle, which probably would come for all Protestantism in Europe; he knew

1) ibid. 44.

2) Harrison, p. 45. As for the idea of toleration and freedom of thought in which the Prince of Orange was so astonishing far ahead of his contemporaries I call the attention to the following dates and facts, which certainly can be improved, but which give at least a general view of his life in this respect:

1 1533-1558 Religious education and close friendship with Lutherans, Roman Catholics and Calvinists.

2 1559. The secret plot to murder all Protestants told to him in the Bois de Vincennes. About this event he writes in his **Apology:** "I confess that from that hour I resolved with my whole soul to do my best to drive the Spanish vermin from the land and of this resolve I have never repented."

3 1566, Nov. 5. He writes to the Landgrave of Hesse: "It seems to me neither right nor Christian only on account of the differences between Lutherans and Calvinists to devastate the country and to murder the people." **Groen van Prinsterer, Archives II, 455.**

4. 1572, July 15. In his name, Marnix on the meeting of nobles and of the deputies of twelve towns in Holland, declares for freedom of religion and for toleration. **G. A. de Meester in Nijhoff's Bijdragen,** Serie I, vol. IX, p. 224.

5. 1576. In the explanation of the ordinance for the churches, made by the Prince and the States of Holland toleration is proclaimed for Roman Catholics and even for Anabaptists. Ibid, 227.

6 1577. William writes to the magistrates of Middelburg: "We declare to you that you have no right to interfere with the conscience of any one, as long as he has done nothing that works injury to another person or a public scandal." **Bor,** chap. XII, 56; also **Griffis. The American in Holland,** p. 270.

7 1579. In making the Union of Utrecht the Prince, even in opposition to his brother John, asked general toleration in all the Provinces. **Groen van Prinsterer, William the Silent,** p. 13. **Archives,** VI, 434.

8 1579-1584. Permanent struggle against Spain and against every idea of persecution among Lutherans and Calvinists.

the danger that threatened since in 1559 the King of France told him in confidence, during the famous hunting party in the woods of Vincennes, the secret plot to murder all Protestants; from that day he resolved in his heart to resist the king; he tried to make a compromise, to induce toleration, but all in vain. He remained in the Netherlands as long as he thought his life to be safe, but just in time he left his estates, his offices and all his possessions and this Prince, ten years ago the richest prince in Christendom, fled as a poor exile to the old home of his dear mother at Dillenburg. Soon afterwards the Duke of Alva appeared in the Netherlands, the best and most noble friends of the Prince were beheaded, more than 18,000 inhabitants fell as victims of judicial murder, the Prince himself was declared an outlaw and all his possessions were confiscated. The humiliation of the Prince was beyond all limits; he fled like David from King Saul; he was hardly safe even in Dillenburg; he sold everything, he still had, even the silver of his table, to hire an army for the assistance of the Netherlands; in a few years, three of his four brothers fell on the battlefield. Adolph in the Northern Province of Groningen at Heiligerlee (in 1568) Henry and Louis on the Mook Heath (in 1574); in August 1572 the horrible tidings went through Europe, the news of Bartholemew (Aug. 24) the night of darkness and mysterious iniquity in which innumerable Huguenots perhaps 60,000 were murdered in Paris and in all France; in England the vacillating Queen Elizabeth; in Germany the Protestant Princes were threatened with war. It was all darkness and trouble and sorrow. But now the unrivaled heroism of the Prince and his matchless ability as a statesman begins; in his utmost weakness was his strength; in the darkness of the night, that spread over Christian Europe, this brilliant star should shine the more clearly. With his mere spiritual power he should conquer the brute material and carnal forces of his enemies. By correspondence he took counsel with his friends and acquaintances in all Europe; he was in permanent connection with the German Protestant Princes; he wrote letters to Queen Elizabeth showing her the danger for England if Philip crushed the Netherlands; he took counsel with the Protestant nobles in France; he showed his Catholic friends in the Netherlands how they, by union, could resist the Spanish army, which murdered their people and devastated their country; he knew all these prominent people as his per-

sonal friends for many years; he knew their ideas and their aspirations; he had his agents everywhere, even at the court of Philip in Spain; 1) he held the threads of the politics of all Europe in his hands better than any other statesman ever could do, and so he gave leadership by his personal ability and by the superiority of his keen statesmanship. With indomitable patience and magnanimous self-control in restless activity, with the spiritual magnificence of a European leader he encouraged and supported the cause of all Protestantism in a time when everything seemed to be lost, when his own life was every day in danger as that of the Apostle Paul (2 Cor. 11: 16-33) and only the pious consolations of his tender mother and the advices of his noble brother John were his help. "Put your trust in God alone," wrote his dear mother. "He alone can save you and yours; they who put their confidence and hope in Him will nevermore be forsaken." 2) So the great hero in the cause of all Protestantism could stand firm; neither threats nor bribing could touch him; when his friends were in discord, he made union; towards the zealous he was moderate, towards the disheartened he was encouraging; when one of the Spanish governors Don Juan seduced his poor people by his friendship, he, with masterly talents brought him in discredit; 3) when negotiations of peace were proposed he had his terms plain and steadfast: freedom of religion, restoration of the privileges, withdrawal of the Spanish troops, terms which were not accepted.

At last the star of hope arose, a cloud as a man's hand was visible above the horizon when the desperate people of the Netherlands began to take their refuge on their small vessels and under the name of sea beggars began to fight the Spaniards on the waves. "The struggle drifted into a maritime war in which the superiority of the Spaniards ceased to tell and the heroism of the Dutch seamen reaped its reward." 3) Their first success was the capture of Den Briel on April

1) Some historians blame the Prince for having a spy at the court of Philip and in our time it seems unfair indeed. But the sixteenth century was another time, a time of assassination by hired murderers; a time in which especially a man like the Prince had to take the utmost care by all means, a time in which not only Philip II and Catherine de Medicis and Mary Stuart resorted to assassination but as well Queen Elizabeth took part in the slave trade of John Hawkins and her character is not cleared from her probable consent to the assassination of Shan O'Neil in Ireland and on the suggestion of a man like Leicester she desired Mary Stuart to be murdered in her prison. **Froude History of England VIII, 491, 29, XII, 345, 349.** In such a time with such morals among the monarchs of Europe the measures taken by the Prince of Orange seem to be neither superfluous nor extravagant.

2) Harrison, p. 106.

3) Harrison, p. 161.

1, 1572; 1) the beginning of a new era in the great struggle. At first even the Prince seems not to see the importance of this fact, but very soon his eyes were open to this new plan of warfare, which proved so successful for Protestantism and so dreadful for Spain. Not a single Spanish ship was now safe any more on the coast of the North sea nor in the manifold seaports and waterways on Dutch, French and English coasts.

Only a few years later these same sea-beggars prevented the greatest Spanish general the Duke of Parma, with an army of 40,000 of the best Spanish soldiers from crossing the channel and conquering England at the same time that the English fleet fought in desperate battle against the Spanish armada. The little town of Den Briel was held for the Prince; two years after Den Briel was taken the city of Alkmar held out against the Spaniards and Leyden, famous for its siege 2) was relieved under the leadership of the Prince and with the assistance of the sea-beggars. These first strongholds on land, and the beggars on sea gave new hope and new inspiration to the desperate people and to the Prince after yea rsof indescribable misery. The eyes of all Protestant Europe were fixed on these strongholds of Protestantism and of liberty, presently places of refuge for the oppressed and persecuted in all countries. Meanwhile the restless negotia-

1) The old Dutch rhyme, corrupted in later time, when people did not more understand its real meaning, is given by Harrison and by Miss Putnam in its wrong and corrupted form: "On April's Fool's Day, Duke Alva's specs (bril) were snatched away" **(Harrison)** or in this form: "In April upon All-fool's Day, Old Alva's specs were stole away." **(Putnam)** as it is found in Bor's history and as it is most known even in the Netherlands. Nevertheless the researches of Dr. Fruin **(Verspreide Geschriften VIII, p.** 373) show that twenty years beforê the first edition of Bor, there was published a chronicle by an author called Theophilus and in this booklet Dr. Fruin found a note, telling that on the first day of April Alva **got a bril on his nose,** meaning the Dutch word "bril" not only spectacle but being this word also used by the farmers for a kind of pincer, which they put on the nose of cows, horses and especially of pigs, with which they curb those animals and prevent them from doing damage. Even the verb "brillen" is often used in that sense by the farmers in our present time at least in the Northern provinces of the Netherlands. So the rhyme originally has been: **"On the first day of April, the Duke of Alva got his bril."** In this original form and sense it is indeed much more characteristic than in its modern corrupted and senseless form.

2) On the authority of P. C. Hooft, the historian Jan Wagenaar tells that after the relief, Leyden was given a choice, either to have a university or during some years freedom of taxes. This tale during many years has been told in nearly all books on Dutch History. Motley, on the authority of Boz says that the city got as a reward for its sufferings a ten days annual fair without tolls and taxes and further a university, granted by the Prince with advice of the estates of Holland. Miss Putnam II, 86 and Harrison 167, tell the same thing. The truth is that in 1586 the trustees of the University and the City of Leyden wrote a letter to Leiceister, in which they, among other things, say that they received as a reward for their sufferings, a University **"without having received any other recompense at any time."** They did not mention any choice or promise made to them at all. **Fruin Verspreide Geschriften, VIII, 400.** As a consequence of this research of Dr. Fruin, we read in Dr. Blok's History of the People of the Netherlands, English translation, III, 85: "As a recompense and reward for the piety and unheard of constancy, also in alleviation of the hunger, anxiety and misery endured in the siege, the city received a University."

tions of William did not leave a single argument unused to arouse every power against Spain and to the assistance of the Netherlands. 2) Philip and all his counsellors knew this very well for years and all their hope was to get hold of this one man; their correspondence shows that they all were convinced that the Prince was the head and the leader, the soul and the inspiring power of the whole resistance and at last they resolved to concentrate all their power as much as possible against the person of William of Orange. This certainly is a splendid token of the enormous achievements and personal power of the Prince and the best recognition of his ability and heroism in history.

IV. But, and here I come to my last point, it became the source of his martyrdom and death and I wish to show you in a few words how William suffered for the great cause to which he has devoted himself and how he at last, as a martyr, sealed his mighty struggle with the sacrifice of his life. Through the life of the Prince we can observe two lines, two golden threads, one of heroism and one of martyrdom, but between those two there is a characteristic difference. The character of heroism is that a hero fights on equal terms with the same kind of weapons as his opponents, only with more energy and valor, ability and perseverance. So did the heroes of Homer as Achilles, Ulysses and Hector; so did the knights of mediaeval times in the chivalrous romances of King Arthur and Charlemagne; so did the heroes on the battlefields of modern history; all these heroes were fighting for their fatherland, for the defense or the deliverance of a fair princess or to avenge a committed crime. No chivalrous knight of noble nature ever would degrade himself to fight against helpless women or children or even against his greatest foe who had no weapon for his defence; he rather first would provide his foe with the best sword and then defeat him in noble and honest battle and only because for instance Achilles before Troy

2) "The great contest was accordingly transferred to the Netherlands, to be fought out for the rest of the century, while the whole of Christendom were to look anxiously for the result. From the East and from the West the clouds rolled away, leaving a comparatively bright and peaceful atmosphere only that they might concentrate themselves with portentious blackness over the devoted soil of the Netherlands." **Motley I, 218.** "In the center of this desperate game" (viz., of European policy) "stands William of Orange, with a policy not less able, and certainly less tortuous, than any around him. He is as indefatiguable as Philip or Cecil, as subtle as Walsingham or Granvelle, as ingenious in combinations as ever were Elizabeth or Catherine. But in all the whirl of intrigue he has steadily in view one dominant idea—free life for the Netherlands, with liberty of worship, their old charters and no Spanish soldiery. From this he never swerves—With these conditions as an irreducible minimum, William was continually scheming for some new alliance," **Harrison, p. 145, 146.**

or Roland in the valley of Ronceveau by their slyness and cunning, by their personal valour and bravery, are fighting against many of their foes who were equipped and armed as well as they themselves and yet conquered many of them—we recollect their true heroism. In this sense the Prince of Orange was a real hero; he put his policy against the policy of King Philip, and the King certainly took the strongest weapons and the best position; nearly all the statesmen and prelates were on Philip's side and most of them even his subjects, and the best opportunity of making friends and of leading their thoughts certainly was on the side of the King. Nevertheless the Prince attacked his policy, won many of his friends, and by his matchless activity and unrivaled cunning, by his indomitable patience and magnanimous self-control he defeated every time the policy of his mighty foe in such a splendid way as marked him as a hero for all ages to come. Nobility of character first and personal valour and ability secondly are the requisites and characteristics of all true heroism.

A quite different thing is martyrdom. What first of all strikes us, when we look at the sufferings of a martyr is the lack of nobility in his oppressors, the degradation of human nature in the brute material power of the tyrant; and secondly against this black background of brutish depravity we see in all its brilliance and heavenly serenity the spiritual reality of the martyr's ideals and principles. Never a principle appears more ideal, more in its spiritual value and imperishable power, than against such black background of materialistic rudeness. This is the reason why the blood of the martyrs is called the seed of the church, and of every conviction outside of the church as well. The martyrdom of Michael Servetus in Geneva is as well the seed of the Unitarian movement as that of many thousands of Huguenots in France and of many other thousands of Reformed in the Netherlands and in England were the seed of all Calvinism in Europe and in America. And for the same reason the martyrdom of those who suffered death for witchcraft in New England left for centuries an indelible stain on the character of the Puritans and in the nineteenth century in Germany the persecution of the Roman Catholics by Bismarck's "Kulturkampf" proved not only a failure, but made the party of Winthorst stronger than ever before. So it was with the martyrdom of William the Silent. As soon as King Philip resorted to brutish materialistic power in order

to decide the differences of religious thoughts, he threw away the only knightly weapons in this spiritual combat and showed himself to all Europe as an unreasonable usurper without nobility or humanity of character and at the same time as soon as the Prince of Orange in 1567 was obliged to flee from the Netherlands and to leave all his immense possessions in the hands of the usurper; as soon as he lost everything in the material world in order to stand for his ideas of liberty and toleration, the value of his conviction was seen in the brilliant light of martyrdom and became an inspiration for thousands, more than ever before. It was these enormous sacrifices more than perhaps anything else, and the more striking after the luxury in which the Prince lived before, that secured him the sympathy of his suppressed people, a sympathy which enabled him to adjust their differences, to unite their forces and to lead them on the only way of final triumph. And when at last on the tenth of June 1584 Philip succeeded in having the Prince murdered by his hired assassin, he enjoyed the crime with all his counselors and with the whole Roman Catholic Church, showing by this awful joy clearly how little they understood of the real character and the consequences of such martyrdom. A whole nation mourned over the loss of father William, but at the same time a general indignation, first visible in the terrible punishment of the assassin, was felt; an indignation even among some of the Spanish soldiers; 1) and the ideas and principles of William of Orange were estimated higher and more heartily adhered to than ever before. 2) Every Prostestant felt, that nobody could suffer more, could lose more, could offer more than their beloved Prince had done and so his martyrdom was the seed of the most steadfast resistance against the Spanish tyranny and was for all Protestants in Europe a token the more how the brutish carnal power tried to crush and to extirpate the spiritual movement of all Protesantism. Only four years later the whole English nation stood

1) P. C. Hooft, Histories, p. 906.

2) About the relation of the Prince and the people it is remarkable what Don Juan wrote to Philip: "The people here," he wrote, "are bewitched by the Prince; they love him; they desire him for their lord; they inform him of everything, and take no step but by his advice." **Harrison, p. 188.** The affections of the Prince towards his people we read in his letters to Don Juan for instance when he writes: "The people form a stable force; the will of a King is always changing." As to King Philip he wrote: "You are staking your own head by trusting the King. Never I will stake mine, for he has deceived me too often. His favorite maxim is **heareticis non est servanda fides." Ibid.** The device of the Prince was: **"Saevis tranquillus in undis"** and remarkable as well as characteristic for the next phase of the great struggle for liberty was the device of his son Maurice: **Tandem fit surculus arbor:** At last the sprout becomes a tree..

as one man side by side with the Netherlands; the Spanish sea-castles of the Armada sunk to the bottom of the North sea and the Spanish world-empire had received one of those deadly blows from which it never should recover. The heroism and the martyrdom of Prince William never ceased to arouse the admiration and the kindest affection of all nations; his foot-prints are on the highway of the World's history; the impressions made by his life and his death are inherited from one generation to the other; his name is at our present time as famous as on the day of his death; during three centuries now statesmen and clergymen have discussed his deeds, of which all noble hearts enjoy the narrative and now all the nations on earth may behold the real character and the blessed consequences of his work. Tested by the course of history and by the judgment of many generations the name of William the Silent is crowned with glory, his memory is accompanied by sympathy and love and his enemies and caluminators lay in their graves, loaded with the indignation of the human race.

IV.

PHILLIP II

PHILIP THE SECOND.

PHILLIP THE SECOND

After the lecture of last week on William the Silent, I think you will not be surprised when I call your attention for a moment to Philip the Second, King of Spain.

Every picture is part light and part shadow; even on some of the finest pictures in the world, as for instance those of Rembrandt, the shadowy part is often much larger than that of light, so that consequently the central part of light, the main part on which the artist attracts all our attention, is surrounded by a very large part of dark shadow, beautiful and rich, mighty and overwhelming as a mysterious world, that surrounds the central part of light.

So indeed it is in history with William the Silent and Philip the Second. The place which William the Silent takes in history, as far as his social position is concerned, is relatively a small one; a sovereign Prince of the little Princedom Orange, a son of the Count of Nassau, one of the several German Princes; but his apparently modest figure is located in the central light of the rising sun of modern history. On the contrary Philip the Second, during half a century as King of Spain, as Sovereign of the Netherlands, of Naples and Sicily and Milan with immeasurable possessions in East and West, took a position overwhelming by its grandeur, but shadowy and mysterious in the evening light of the setting sun of mediaeval time. 1) Everything about Philip the Second appears in that shadowy twilight of the mediaeval evening; the sternness of his face, the degeneration of his race, the impenetrable foundation of his thoughts and of his deeds, the final failure of his whole life, it all bears that same mysterious character of shadow and gloom. No king in the world tried so much to be unknown, to work out everything personally, to keep everything secret, as Philip did, and yet, after three hundred years, no King in the world of whom we know so much as of King Philip. Since all the state archives of Simancas

1) The case of Philip II and William of Orange in which at the same time one of them represents the brute carnal, the other the spiritual power, is not the only one in history. In the Holy Scripture we find for instance similar examples in Cain and Abel, in Saul and David, in Ezau and Jacob; in modern history Louis XIV and William III of Orange.

and Brussels, of the Hague and Cassel and Besancon, of Paris and London are open for historical research, and scholars as Gachard 1) and Groen van Prinsterer, 2) and after them so many others devoted a great part of their lives in publishing the whole correspondences of Philip the Second and Granvelle, 3) of William the Silent and Marguareta of Parma 4) and other illustrious men and women, since that time all the intimate and secret letters and resolutions lay open to the public, and the more those illustrious men worked and wrote the more we know about their personal feelings and the motives of their actions. And still, as far as Philip is concerned, after half a century of research, with an enormous quantity of papers and correspondence open for every scholar, his life has remained a problem, his character a mystery, his place in history an object of the most different opinions. *William Prescott* 5) wrote his work in three volumes on the reign of Philip, *Forneron* 6) published another one in four volumes, *Motley* tried to penetrate in his most intimate thoughts and to look in the depths of his character, *Groen van Prinsterer* and *Gachard* gave their precious explanations of some inconceivable thoughts and facts of his life, *Martin Hume* 7) wrote his concise biography, but after all Philip the Second stands before us, enveloped in his impenetrable shadow, with his mysterious veil spread over his life, through which the sharp lines of his character and his real position in the world's history only approximately can be conjectured.

It is for this reason that I will *first* try to give you an idea of the bewildering problems, which we have to face in the life of Philip, *secondly* to construct as true as possible an idea of his real character and *finally* to contemplate the great struggle of his life as a chapter in the world's history.

1) M. Gachard. Correspondence de Guillaume le Taciturne. 6 vols. Brussells 1847-1857 and his correspondence de Philip II, 5 vols, 1848-1862.

2) Groen van Prinsterer. Archives de la Maison d' Orange Nassau, serie I, 3 vols., 1835-1847 and serie II, 5 vols., 1857-1861. The third series, continued by Dr. Kramer will be ready pretty soon.

In his reaction against those who blame Philip II Groen van Prinsterer undoubtedly goes too far to the other side. Facts can be glossed over and palliated but not denied.

3) Granvelle-Papiers d' Etat, 9 vols., published by Weise, Paris, 1841-1852. His correspondence published by E. Poulet and C. Piot, 1878-1896, 12 vols., in the "collection de chroniques Belges inedites," Brussells, 1836-1904, in 8 vols.

4) Correspondence de Marquerite d' Autriche avec Philip II, pub. by L. P. Gachard in 3 vols. Brussels, 1867-1887.

5) William H. Prescott. History of the Reign of Philip II, 3 vols., 1875.

6) H. Forneron. Histoire de Philip II, 4 vols. Paris, 1881-1882. Other authors who wrote special books on Philip II are R. Baumstark (in German) 1875; A. Dumesnil (in French) 1822; Ch. Gayarre (in English with introduction of Bancroft) 1866; in Spanish for instance C. F. Duro, 1890; Gomez, 1879; F. Gonzales, 1850; J. F. Montana, 1891; E. San Miguel, 4 vols., 1844-1847.

7) Martin A. S. Hume. Philip II of Spain. London, 1906.

As for the manifold events and deeds in the life of Philip, considered on itself or compared one with the other, they stand before us as a number of problems and contradictions which offer an opportunity for the most different conclusions and appreciations.

We usually think King Philip to be a true and faithful son of the Roman Catholic Church, as he is depicted in hundreds of textbooks on history; and yet we learn that he was born in the days, when the soldiers of his father Charles V sacked the city of the Pope, and the head of the Roman Catholic Church scarcely had the time to flee; we learn that Philip himself begins his reign in 1555 with a war against the Pope; that his general, the iron duke of Alva devastates the country of the Holy See; that a violent bull of excommunication was issued against Philip and his father, a bill in which Philip is called the "son of iniquity, who passed himself off as King of Spain, following in the footsteps of his father, rivalling and even endeavoring to surpass him in infamy." 1) I am well aware that after two years, by the intervention of the Doge of Venice a peace was patched up between the Pope and Philip; that Alva, against his will, was ordered by Philip to ask pardon on his knees before the Pope, 2) but I know as well that this was only the beginning of Philip's indifference about the Pope; that during his whole reign of nearly half a century he almost always denied and neglected the authority of the Pope, made himself the head of the Catholic Church in his Kingdom, held his own political inquisition independent from the Pope; that he even made the chair of St. Peter a ready instrument in his hand 3) instead of obeying as a true son, and that in 1564 the Pope again was so indigant that he said "never was a Pope so ill-treated as he was by King Philip and his ministers," 4) and that even with the Counsel of Trent, the most authoritative assembly the Roman Catholic Church perhaps during centuries had, Philip was in so bitter conflict, that some of its resolutions were called by his ambassadors "works of the devil" and for over a year the decisions of the Counsel of Trent were not published in Spain.

Although his own neglecting of the authority of Pope and Counsel was undoubtedly a serious heresy, he himself

1) Quoted by Hume, p. 52.
2) Prescott, I, 203.
3) Hume, 71.
4) Ibid, 96.

had hundreds of Catholics burned at the stake whose heresy was not a tenth part of his own during the whole time of his government.

And if he considered himself as being a good Catholic and nevertheless as standing above Pope and Counsel, we have to solve the problem, whether it was blasphemish pride, or irresponsible degeneration of intellect and feeling that must give us an explanation of such unheard of point of view.

He pretended to consider it as his holy duty to punish every heretic and at the famous *auto da fe* in 1559 at Valadolid, one of the victims, ready to be burnt, a man by the name of *De Seso,* asked him: "Is it thus that you allow your innocent subjects to be persecuted?" To which the King made the memorable reply: "If it were my own son I would fetch the wood to burn him, were he such a wretch as you are." 1) Nevertheless such sincere convictions did not hinder Philip from advising his wife the Bloody Mary of England, to moderate the persecution, nor did it hinder him later on from asking himself the hand of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, who was in his eyes "such a wretch" as De Seso was, and who above that was a sister of his wife, whom he according to the law of the Roman Catholic Church was not allowed to marry. 2)

With a solemn oath in the presence of Almighty God he swore that he would maintain all the privileges of the states and towns in the Netherlands, just as he swore an oath to maintain the privileges of his Catholic people in Aragon. Yet he trampled those privileges under his feet not only in the Netherlands, but in Aragon as well, and thus by his indifference he brought to ridicule his most solemn oaths, the breaking of which was a crime in all Christendom and a contempt of God.

One conclusion we certainly may draw here viz. that a King who while calling himself a good Catholic yet treated so arbitrarily the authority of the Pope, with the laws of his own church, with the rights of his Catholic subjects, with his solemn oaths before God and man, that such a King cannot be expected to respect any right or property, to keep any promise in the world. But even this conclusion brings us to another problem, viz., how to explain such a characteristic either as a mere heathen tyranny like that of Nero or as an irresponsible

1) Prescott, I, 433.
2) Prescott, I, 155.

defect in his mind, both of which explanations are irreconcilable with many other facts in his life.

In Spain he crushed the nobility, he trampled the privileges under his feet, he murdered thousands of Moriscos, among whom innumerable innocent women and children, he devastated the best parts of the country, he spent continuously all the riches of the people in his wars, he persecuted the Jesuits who tried to bring a revival of learning; yet we are told he was a very popular King of Spain and we become desirous to learn the solution of this other problem of Philip's life.

The tale of his happy life in the circle of his family, his kindness towards his wives and children is told in many books and yet everybody knows his Spanish morals, his undisguised infidelity in the the time he was married to Queen Mary of England and his secret visits even to the queen's sister Elizabeth; 1) everybody knows how he met his fourth wife Anne, the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, Philip's own nephew; it was in the year 1570, when Montigny, sent as an envoy from the Netherlands, was kept a prisoner in Spain by Philip in the most treacherous way. The young bride, a friend of Montigny's mother-in-law as soon as she should meet her bridegroom, would ask him to spare the life of Montigny. Philip knew this, ordered Montigny to be murdered before his bride came and then met her with a murderous falsehood in his mouth, telling her that he could not have refused to grant her request, but that unfortunately Montigny had died of sickness. 2)

Everybody knows the tragic history of his unhappy and unfortunate son Don Carlos, born when Philip was a boy of seventeen years, the Hamlet of Spain, who hated his father and at last was put in prison where he died; a story which even from all the papers of the royal Archives not yet fully has been explained and which left on Philip until our present day the suspicion of having murdered even his own son. 3)

When we read in almost every book in which the life of Philip is described that he was a man of haughty character with an aversion to every vulgarity; when we read of his ability in courting ladies, his manly beauty, his fine dress as a Spanish grande, we incline to think that before us stands a

1) Prof. Theod. Jorissen. Historische studien, I, p. 7.
2) Hume. 156.
3) Groen van Prinsterer. Archives. Proleg. 150, where he quotes as well the conclusion of Ranke and Von Raumer; Prescott II, 567-587; Martin A. S. Hume. History of the Spanish people, p. 369 and in his Philip II, p. 124; L. P. Gachard. Don Carlos et Philippe, II, Paris, 1867.

nobleman of kindred feelings, of carefully fostered nobility. And yet the darkest and most murderous gloom, treachery, falsehood and assassination is proved to be hidden under the superficial varnish of his outwardly noble appearance. The names of Montigny and Escovedo and William of Orange tell more than volumes. The assassination of Montigny and Orange everybody knows. Escovedo was the secretary of Philip's own brother Don Juan and was sent to Philip, but on the suggestion of Antonio Peres, one of the scoundrels who enjoyed the personal friendship of Philip, Escovedo was murdered in the streets of Madrid by the order of the King.

In looking at all his persecutions of heretics and his taking up the arms to crush Protestantism in the Netherlands and the Moriscos in Spain and in reading his continuous repeated assertion, that he does everything for God and for the Holy Catholic Faith, we think to find the keynote of all his endeavors. Yet we see him taking up his arms as well against Catholic Faith, we hope to find the keynote of all his enare forced to the conclusion that in that line a reasonable explanation of Philip's life-system is not to be found and we seem to understand nothing at all of the motives and ideas that lived in the mysterious heart of this human being.

When we see him working all the day, looking through every letter and every paper, taking care personally for every affair of his enormous government, handling the most shrewd politicians and statesmen as Ruy Gomez and Gravelle, as well as the most powerful generals as Alva and Parma, as if he were playing with puppets, we incline for a moment to think that Philip must have been a genius and a real master in statesmanship. And yet all historians agree on this point that Philip was everything but a genius, that his apparent strength of intellect and will was only a superficial show, but that really he was led by others, was vacillating in forming decisions and irresolute in executing them when formed. 1)

When we read his often repeated assertion that his only ideal and the purpose of his whole life was to serve God, to glorify His name, to defend His church, we think him at least listening to the most simple and plain commandments of Christendom and of the Church of all ages and respecting the very first and most elementary ideas of the will of God and of his own Church. Yet he tramples under his feet in the most

1) John Lothrop Motley. Rise of the Dutch Republic, I, 121.

unscrupulous way every commandment of the divine law. He grasps the property, the rights and privileges of everybody; he recognizes no authority even of the Pope; an advice even of the Pope makes him angry and arouses him to do just the reverse; he murdered and slaughtered so that even the priests in Spain complained at the Counsel of Trent, that no priest would be safe anymore with his life; his covetous eyes were all the time looking at the crown of Catholic France as well as of Protestant England; his falsehood and treachery were proverbial, so that you might think there was no religion in him at all.

II. Such are the facts we have to deal with and which we have to explain as accumulated in the life of one single man as emanated from one character, one kind of religion, one direction of life, and I will try to give at least an approximate and reasonable solution of this problem.

For the construction of a true idea of Philip's character there are especially three elements, which ask our attention, viz., his *birth,* his *education* and his *position.* In his birth we find the *degeneration* of his race; in his education the problem of his ideas and feelings is solved in monastic *mysticism* with *ignorance* and *arrogance;* in his high position we see his arrogance getting its full development to disdain and cruel treatment of so many of his subjects. Philip was the offspring of several generations of consanguineous marriages, which almost always have for consequence the degeneration of the race. His grandmother Juana the Mad "passed a long lifetime in melancholy torpor." 1) In his father Charles V., says Hume, the tainted blood was mingled with the gross appetites and heavy frames of the burly Hapsburgs." 2) His father and mother were first cousins, both being grand children of avaricious Ferdinand and Isabel the Catholic. The curse which afflicted Philip's progenitors, and was transmitted with augmented horror to his descendants could not be expected to pass over himself, and the hereditary gloom, which fell upon him, explains a part of his character. Nobody ever will declare Philip mad or insane, and yet his character shows symptoms of abnormality as are inconsistent with normal human feelings and reasonings exactly what often can be observed in children of consanguineous marriages. In the case of Philip

1) Hume, p. 5.
2) ibid.

the great Italian criminologist and anthropoligist Professor Cesare Lombroso 1) goes so far as to place the signature of Philip among those of the great criminals in history. This character with its hidden abnormalities and its inner weakness by inheritance, was by education laid in a way which, for the position he one time had to take in the world, was the most fatal that could be thought of. His father was most always far from home with his armies in Germany, in Italy or in the Netherlands; his mother died when he was only a boy of eleven years. Philip now without mother and most of the time without father, was educated by Spaniards and from his main teacher, his tutor Siliceo he obtained a very poor education, but an education perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the Spanish people at that time. Spain had been for centuries under the leadership of the Dominican monks, the Black Friars as they are called in England. "For Two hundred years, says Prof. Jorissen, 2) the order of these mendicant monks gave their convictions and thoughts to every generation. King and people were educated by this order and both should remain just what this order wanted them to be." Especially after the conquest of the Moriscos and since the unification of Spain after the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile, a unification on the basis of the Dominican creed or "bigotry" as Martin Hume in his history of Spain 3) calls it, the life system of this order was the life system of the Spanish people and of the Spanish sovereigns. In this line Philip, beyond the influence of his father, was educated in the most one-sided way. Now the life system of these mendicant monks and preachers can be understood for instance in their opposition to the order of the Jesuits, who tried to introduce learning and sciences in Spain. This was in the eyes of the Dominicans in conflict with the duty of holy devotion; profane and worldly studies should turn away from holy contemplation. 4) The natural result was, that Philip imbibed the spirit of this order in its late mediaeval and most corrupt phase, with its mere outer performances of church rites, without real knowledge of dogmatic principles, without knowledge of the spiritual and moral commandments of any confession or doctrine. So Philip learned to serve his God by going to

1) Cesare Lombroso in his Atlas of Criminology.
2) Theod. Jorissen, Philip II. Historische studien, I, 19.
3) Hume, 331.
4) Jorissen, 18.

mass, by saying his number of pater-nosters and by self-torture for which he used a leather thong provided with iron points to chastise his hips and back, 1) and in his ignorant devotion, with the gloomy pride and haughty ignorance of the mendicant friar, he looked with disdain upon every more intellectual and worldly educated man. A kind of superficial, gloomy and corrupt although perfectly honest mysticism with its natural results in ignorance and arrogance are the characteristics of this order in the time of Philip; in the ignoronce this corrupt mysticism led to the highest degree of bigotry; in its arrogance it laid scorn and contempt of learning and science as heresy and to pitiless persecution and cruelty. Here indeed we find the keynote of many things in Philip's life and character, which otherwise hardly can be explained. As a boy of sixteen years Philip stands before the world as a married man and his education was to be considered as complete. Even if he had been a real genius and under the best tutors, what could have been his knowledge and wisdom at that age? But Philip with his weak capacity, under the burden of the most pitiful hereditary debilitation, with a tutor, who, as his own father Charles V. tells us, was anxious to please him, must have been far below the normal development of the boys of his age. 2) From the clumsiness, with which he expressed his thoughts, even in his own language, we have a proof of what really his education has been. Only his monastic and mystic devotion, which was not beyond the limits of his ability, was carefully fostered and this was in accordance with his own gloomy character as well as with the spirit of the Spanish friars. In performing the outward duties of the church rite, in going to mass, in saying his prayers, in kneeling before his images, in looking at his crucifix he was convinced he did his full duty before his God and he wished to bring the whole world to this duty. Further commandments of God for his conduct of life he did not know and never liked to know and many of his deeds, which the whole world now considers as violations of divine and human laws, as crimes against God and men for his consciousness had nothing to do with the service of God at all. What he himself understood of church

1) Jorissen, 17.

2) He knew a little about Latin, French and Italian, but what does that mean for a Spaniard, whose own mother-tongue was one of the Romance languages, which have so much in common? What he knew about French and Italian was below the average results of the teachings of an ordinary nurse and his Latin in a time when everybody knew and read this language, was far less than that of an ordinary schoolboy of sixteen years.

doctrine and heresy, must have been less than what a normal boy of sixteen years understands of it. No wonder that he never felt himself at home among the nobles of high education in Italy, in Germany and the Netherlands, where they all called him haughty and retiring, forgetting that his arrogance was his only refuge to conceal his ignorance. Even the cruelty of his persecutions largely can be explained as an extolling to the sky of his corrupt mystic devotion, the only thing in matters of religion he could master and which he knew was not appreciated but rather laughed at by those whom he called heretics. This cruelty against the heretics was his apology for his own ignorance and his arrogance the expression of his contempt and disdain of the learning, which he missed and could not master, his triumph over those whom he felt were his superiors. So for the execution of Egmond one of his finest nobles and one of his best generals and a faithful Catholic of high education, who himself put many heretics to death, the least suspicion of heresy was sufficient with Philip to find an opportunity to humble him and the Duke of Alva was sly and cunning enough to understand this.

The distrustfulness of Philip, for which he is well known, was nothing but the distrustfulness of ignorance, and he did not need the lesson, which his father gave him to trust nobody and to keep everybody at a distance. His poor education and his abnormal and poor capacity was sufficient for that. A Dominican monk on the throne of Spain, that is the definition Professor Jorissen gave of Philip the Second and this really is the short but true expression in which we find the whole explanation of his gloomy devotion, his depreciation of learning, his ignorance and contempt of all religious and moral laws, except the ritual duties, his merciless cruelty as result of his arrogance, and the solution of nearly every problem of his life.

Now after having shown *first* the bewildering problems in the facts of Philip's life and *secondly* the explanation of his character in his birth and his education, I will *in the third place* with a few words call your attention to the great struggle of Philip's life, which forms a chapter in the world's history.

After the premature abdication of Charles V in 1555 Philip the Second stood in Europe as the mightiest sovereign. "He was now King of Spain. Lord of the Netherlands, King of Naples and Sicily, Duke of Milan. In Africa he possessed the Cape de Verd Islands and the Canaries as well as Tunis,

Oran and some other places on the Barbary coast. He owned the Philippines and the Spice Islands in Asia. In America, besides his possessions in the West Indies, he was master of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru and claimed the right to a boundless extent of country that offered an inexhaustible field to the cupidity and enterprise of the Spanish adventurer. Thus the dominions of Philip stretched over every quarter of the Globe." 1)

The fact alone that Philip reigned from 1555 till 1598, holding such an enormous sovereign power for more than forty years, makes it evident that the role, which he had to play in such a time as was the sixteenth century, must have been an important and influential one.

In the great struggle of the sixteenth century, in which all the Christian nations of Europe took their share with a necessity as certain as their own existence, Philip was placed in the position of the head and the leader of one of the two mighty parties, that of Catholic Europe, and nobody felt more purely and more naturally in his veins and in his heart the real and true aspiration of that party. It was a gigantic struggle between the mediaeval spirit of the deeply sunk and corrupt Roman Catholic World on one side and the spirit of Renaissance and Reformation on the other; a struggle between the mystic devotion with its ignorance and its arrogance on one side and the spirit of enlightening and awakening on the other; a struggle between the monastic spirit of the late mediaeval times and the spirit of liberty and democracy of the rising modern history.

Now in Philip the Second was concentrated and embodied all the power and the energy, all the devotion and ignorance, those sources of fanaticism, all the arrogance, that mother of the most merciless cruelty of the late mediaeval corrupt monastic atmosphere, accumulating and uniting for their last and desperate battle against the rising sun of modern times.

Charles V. was too little of an ecclesiastic; he did not live in the real spirit of monastic life; he was too much of a humanist, although within the limits of his education and his race. But Philip was the real and pure representative, the natural head of the old regime by right of his birth, his education, his character and his position. His Spanish people stood with him united in the same spirit. Every nation of Europe was

1) Prescott, I, 144.

mingled with the uprising of the modern spirit except the Spanish people. In every country the rising sun of modern enlightening and awakening sent its nourishing beams of light among the languishing people except in Spain. If the battle was to be fought between the mediaeval spirit and that of modern time, and this was indeed unavoidable, then Philip was the man on one side as evidently as William of Orange was the hero on the other. And Philip was prepared for this struggle from his youth as well as Orange. All the true leaders and most eminent representatives of mediaeval thought were his counsellors and his servants. Alva and Ruy Gomez, Antonio Peres and Granvelle, each of them was in his own way the incarnation of the mediaeval power.

Philip is instrument and representative of his life-system. Leader and led himself by the dominant spirit of his cause, absorbed by the enormity of the struggle seldom any personal feeling prevailed in his deeds as a sovereign. In him was personified the spirit of the old regime; in him was embodied the spiritual life of the Spanish people and of Roman Catholicism as it was in his time; he made the great cause his own cause, the conquest of the modern spirit his own conquest, all the countries of Europe the butt of his own dominion to serve his great cause. Since the imperial crown of Germany slipped from his hands, he snatched at the crown of England and France and in the meantime, if he did not yet succeed in these great endeavors he at least made up his mind to extirpate the modern spirit of heresy in his own dominions. So he threw himself with all the energy of his great plan on the Netherlands, hardly thinking that in these Low Countries the great struggle should be brought to final decision. The best generals in the world, with the finest equipped armies of unmatched Spanish veterans, soldiers for whom the Pope and the Moriscos had trembled, were sent to the Netherlands; the most able prelates and statesmen were the advisers of the King; fifteen hundred millions of golden ducats were spent, all the energy of Philip's gigantic power was set to work to crush at least in his own dominion the spirit of modern times, the most detestable heresy in his eyes, but he should not succeed. The days of glory for mediaeval ideals had passed away. Once there had been a time, it was in the days of Charlemagne, when the Christian church and the great Emperor together were Christianizing, educating and civilizing the

Germanic tribes and the monasteries were the strongholds of learning, the centers of mission and civilization, and the homes for the most noble characters. But this was centuries ago; the noble charm of that great time was no more; the great task of mediaeval Christianity was performed; the Catholic world was sunk in worldly and carnal corruption and the monasteries had lost their ideals, and grew ripe for their approaching downfall. The revival of humanity and Christendom should go along other lines, the old system had outlived and the struggle to maintain itself was a struggle against the world's history. When Alva fought his battle for his great master and his mediaeval Catholicism the headquarters of the world's history were already moving for years from the sunny valleys of Spain and Italy to the shores of the Netherlands and England and when the iron duke after years of desperate and hopeless struggle at last wrote to Philip the remarkable words: "Everybody here is against me," it was the spirit of modern history, the spirit of Renaissance and Reformation that made him shudder perhaps for the first time in his life. He had fought for his master the desperate fight, he did not imagine that he was fighting in one of the great struggles of history, a fight of two diametrically different life systems; a struggle like that of the Persians against Greece, like that of the Greek against the rising Roman Empire, like that of Germanic heathenism against the rising Christian church in Charlemagne's days and like that in modern history of English Conservatism against American Democracy.

It was one of the great chapters in the World's history when one system after having performed its task, still tries to keep the field to the last and highest degree of desperation. Philip fulfilled the tragic duty of leading the last mighty forces of the mediaeval regime in the field against the spirit of modern history; but this modern spirit in the midst of Philip's burning stakes and his reeking slaughtering appeared in his way like two angels with glittering swords, one standing for enlightening and science: the angel of the Renaissance driving back mediaeval ignorance; and the other standing for the awakening of all nations and for modern democracy: the angel of the Reformation striking down all mediaeval arrogance; and before those two angels all the power of the last mediaeval Sennecheril faded away and disappeared in the last horrible night of monastic devotion. The King of Spain was in despair and

nothing saw his eyes but darkness of the night. Only once for a moment his hope revived and all the adepts of his cause rejoiced at his relief. It was then Balthazer Gerards, one of his true servants fired the shot at Delft which killed the great hero of Modern History. But this shot was like that of Lexington, heard round the world, but two hundred years before, the shot which announced the rise of a new era in history and the decline and downfall of the old regime of which King Philip was the head. The shot was deadly not for Orange, who had fulfilled the great task of his life, but deadly for Philip, whose perfect failure was announced and whose name was condemned with the cause to which, if not resisted, he would have sacrificed himself and all the world—William of Orange before he died, if not allowed to enjoy the rising sun of modern times, he saw at least the glittering morning star bearing the hope of a brilliant day. But Philip, before he died, he saw the setting of the sun in all his dominions, he saw the perfect failure of his life; he felt the deadly blow given him in the Netherlands; he felt that Henry IV had beaten him in France; that England had beaten him on sea; at last the tidings reached his palace that in his own dear Spain, in the harbour of Cadiz, his whole fleet was destroyed and one of his most beautiful cities for fifteen days was submitted to the most perfect pillage. But Phillip remained true to the devotion of his youth, he bore with patience all his sufferings and misery, he died with the crucifix of his father in his hands, believing till the end that he had spent his life for the best cause in the world, and expecting the mercy of his God, a mercy which he himself so often had refused to his fellow-men.

V.

REMARANDT

REMBRANDT

It was in the year 1609 on the 15th day of July that to the miller Harmen Gerrits, calling himself Van Rijn, and his wife Neeltje Willems, living on the Weddesteeg, a small street in the town of Leyden, was born a child to whom was given the name of Rembrandt. 1) The world paid no attention to this simple fact. Sixty-three years later in 1669 a poor old man was buried in Amsterdam in the most simple way at the cost of only 13 guilders, being a little more than 5 dollars; the world paid no attention to this fact either; no contemporary writer says a word about it and only from the registry of deaths in the Wester church we know the fact as we read there: " Tuesday, October 5, 1669, Rembrandt van Rijn, painter on the Rozengracht, opposite the Doolhof, leaving two children."

Between these two simple facts lies the life of Rembrandt; a life of which we know that as a boy of fourteen Rembrandt was registered as a student in the Leyden University; that in the next year he left the University to become an apprentice in the painters' guild of St. Lucas at Leyden, where Jacob van Swanenburg was his teacher; that after having finished his three year course of apprenticeship he studied for six months at Amsterdam in the studio of Peter Lastman, after which time he returned to Leyden to study and practice painting alone and in his own way. We know that he had a close friend in Jan Lievens, a farmer's son and painter of his own age; we know that his first pupil was Gerard Dow in 1628; that Rembrandt and his friend Jan Lievens very soon had a good reputation; that in 1631 he moves to Amsterdam the great center of trade and wealth to live there all the rest of his life. We know that the next year, 1632, he painted his famous

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1) The economical condition of Rembrandt's parents was a comfortable one. Altho not belonging to the higher classes, they were not poor either, but just like an ordinary citizen as a miller in that time. When Rembrandt's mother died in 1640, the inheritance of each of the five children amounted to 2,500 florins, being 1,000 dollars. Rembrandt's wife, Saskia, the daughter of a burgomaster of Leeuwarden was of much higher standing and her property **was valued at about 40,000 florins,** being 16,000 dollars.

*Anatomy lesson;*1) that he married in 1634 Saskia van Uhlenburg and lived very happily with her during eight years till she died in 1642; we know that he spent all his money, and a great part of that of his wife in buying everything which he thought necessary for his luxurious conception of painting, a luxury which at last exceeded his wealth and led finally to his bankruptcy and poverty; we know that in the year 1642, the year in which Saskia died, the year of this enormous sorrow and misery, he finished his *Night Watch;* that from 1649 until 1662 he lived with his second wife Hendrikje Stoffels, 2) that his son Titus and his second wife did everything to help him in his years of sorrow and poverty; that Rembrandt, notwithstanding all his calamities, devoted his whole life of industrious and indefatigable labor to painting and etching and drawing of a nearly innumerable quantity of pictures; that he in 1661 painted the *Syndics of the Drapers* and at last in 1669 died in poverty as a forgotten man.

Many endeavors have been made to know more exactly every fact of Rembrandt's life; scholars in the history of art especially during the last fifty years as *Immerzeel* and *Vosmaer, Wilhelm Bode* and *Dr. Bredius* and many others in Germany, in France and in England, devoted part of their life in studying Rembrandt, until *Emile Michel* 3) published at last his elaborate work. And after all the complaint is still a general one that we know so little about his life, so that it often is an opportunity for merciless critics to bring even the best endeavors on some one or the other point to ridicule. 4) And yet, there is no man in history, whose biography is written in so splendid a way, in folio volumes full of such precious pages,

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1) The Anatomy Lesson of 1632, the Nightwatch painted in 1642 and the Syndics of the Drapers of 1661 are the three most generally known and therefore most famous paintings of Rembrandt. As a proof how exactly Rembrandt's eye distinguished every color and hue may be told, that a professor in anatomy, who during more than twenty years had taught anatomy, and nearly every day had before his eyes the human corpses, at one time, when looking at Rembrandt's Anatomy Lesson, confessed, that of all pictures he ever saw of corpses, none gave the true and exactly right and real color of the corpse except that of Rembrandt.

2) That Rembrandt married Hendrikje is probable as Malcolm Bell in his work on Rembrandt, p. 34, shows; that he was very kind to her and she to him is an undeniable fact. Michel 303 does not believe in Rembrandt's legal marriage with Hendrikje.

3) The works of these authors are: J. Immerzeel. Lofrede op Rembrandt. Amst. 1841; C. Vosmaer. Rembrandt Harmens, sa vie et ses oeuvres. Paris and the Hague, 1877. Wilhelm Bode, Great Master of Dutch and Flemish painting, Brunswijk 1883 translated into English, 1909; A. Bredius works on the picture galleries of the Hague and Amsterdam, 1890; Emil Michel Rembrandt sa vie ses oeuvres et son temps. Paris, 1893 and since translated into German and English, the last one published in 1903 at London and New York. For further bibliography see a list of works in Malcolm Bell's Rembrandt.

4) One sees for instance the criticism of Kenyon Cox Old Masters and New, p. 115-132. A pretty bold, but cheap kind of criticism, most destructive and this is always easy.

as the autobiography which Rembrandt himself has left to posterity in the works of his own hand in the own language of Rembrandt, in the magnificent hieroglyphics of his painting, his etching and his drawing everybody who knows how to read them finds everything he needs, everything that is really important to understand Rembrandt's life and work. If you wish to know *his character,* look at his pictures; he stands before you in nearly fifty paintings of himself, descriptions of his character, as a young man in his self-reliance and nobility, as a husband in his kindness, in his earnest as well as in his gay humor, as a man between forty and fifty in his sorrow and still in his power of self-direction and unbroken energy, as an old man, noble and still self-reliant, though soft and patient, bearing his sufferings with dignity. If you wish to know *his religion,* look at the more than 75 etchings, at the 100 paintings, at the 240 drawings of biblical subjects, telling you as so many sermons, what he was thinking about, what he saw with the eyes of his soul, what he felt in his heart about matters of religion. If you wish to know how he looked at *the human nature,* how he studied man, look at his hundreds of portraits, all of which are so many deeply founded studies of man and of human character. So about everything in life Rembrandt painted his inner thoughts and feelings on the canvas and in that way was writing his own most intimate and beautiful autobiography, the only one of so splendid beauty in the world's history. And besides this, as if it were to complete his life story, even in the tragic fact of his bankruptcy, result of his unlimited love for beautiful things and of his absolute devotion to his art, he left us an intimate page of his biography in the inventory 1) of all his possessions, giving us a complete list of everything with which he surrounded himself in his house, the specialized furniture of every room and all the examples of art which he looked at in his daily life. The whole civilized world of our day is reading in this enormous biography of the great master; every visitor in one of the great museums of art, standing before a picture of Rembrandt, is trying to read a page of Rembrandt's life; to penetrate to the truth and the depth of thoughts and feelings which speaks to him from the canvas; he is trying to translate a page of that masterly biography which *speaks to heart and feeling* and which in no other language adequately can be translated and

1) First published in full by Immerzeel in 1841.

for that reason often is so difficult to understand. A mere *intellectualist* does not understand one single syllable of Rembrandt's language; for him the book of Rembrandt is a closed book; for him it is like a sonata of Beethoven or an opera of Wagner to those who have no ear for the charm of music. You know that Lord Bryon, with all his deep feeling for poetry, nevertheless could not read the language of painting and therefore not only disliked but even despised the masterpieces of Titian and Michael Angelo. So we never have to be surprised, when again and again, some critics arise, who put the knife of their barren intellectualism in the most tender and magnificent creations of art; people for whom the channel of contemplation and feeling, the only way in which Rembrandt speaks, is closed; people, who with the stupid dryness of their intellectualism, tell you the faults they find, not in their own understanding, but in Rembrandt. Even a marvellous creation, as the Night Watch in which the earnestness and dignity of Captain Banning Cock and his lieutenant uplift and dominate the gayety of the company and of which the whole conception with its brilliant colors makes an immediate and amazing impression of idealized reality and sublime patriotism, so that the greatest men of all nations stand still and look at it in admiring contemplation as if they were listening to a heavenly chorus in the cathedral of St. Peter, even this mighty work of the great master was often the subject of that dry intellectual criticism, using with bold impudence the vocabulary of art and finding something irregular, something which is not in accordance with the rules of their apprentice text book and they think they see something which they suppose the great master should not have seen himself. But the dry and barren way of criticism is not the way to understand the master's work. 1) *Love and confidence* are the guides on the way of knowledge and of art. *Criticism*, if not the last chapter of our textbook of knowledge and if not guided by appreciation, will be always destructive and inimical. To overlook the mountains you must first reach yourself the highest top. Then indeed, but also then alone criticism is both natural and useful. A dry and barren, an immature and pretentious criticism is not proof of knowledge and understanding but is only the poor imitation and de-

1) Kenyon Cox in his work **"Old Masters and New,"** p. 125, calls the Nightwatch an "enimatic picture," which from his critical point of view does not surprise at all; but when he calls the Night Watch "a splendid failure" it seems to me that his criticism is a failure, but not a splendid one.

ceitful substitute of it. *The first need to understand Rembrandt* is earnestness of thought and tenderness of feeling in order to see the depth of his thought with the eyes of your soul, to enter into the love and the sorrows, into the problems of human life, into the passions of his holy enthusiasm, to open your heart and submit your affections to his sublime leadership, to surrender yourself to the influence of his beautiful preaching. A lack of the right feeling almost always leads to misunderstanding and disappreciation in things human and divine. When we read in the scripture that Job felt himself quite right not only against his friends but even before his God, then the Lord approaches to him in a thunderstorm and puts before him all the great problems of the universe in a series of sharp questions. And then first Job humbles himself before the Almighty and realizes that he himself is only dust and ashes; a feeling with which he should have started when speaking to the Almighty One. When Moses saw the burning bush and approached in the presence of God, he first receives the solemn warning: "Draw not nigh hither; put off the shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy land." 2) Now if this is true in matters of religion; if even the best men so easily forget their due respect to Almighty God, how much more easily then they will forget their due respect to their fellow men even to the most highly inspired genius of the human race, and by lack of respect come to misappreciation and misunderstanding, and to the most barren criticism. So indeed it is in studying such a powerful and creative genius as Rembrandt was. Only those who have learned to respect him can love and understand him; and only those who love and understand him thoroughly and intimately, will at last become able to exercise a criticism that can be worthy to be looked at in earnestness. 3)

Now this being so, the task of the present lecture is easily

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1) Job 38-43.
2) Exodus 3:5.
3) So for the right understanding of Rembrandt the works of William Bode, Mortimer Mempes, Malcolm Bell and Charles H. Caffin are indeed more useful even than the elaborate work of the French author Emile Michel. The great merit of Michel certainly is his enormous collection of material, the result of industry and patience for which all students and lovers of art will be grateful to the author. He has made possible the study of Rembrandt for everybody, but this does not include that the author himself was enough acquainted with the atmosphere in which Rembrandt lived and with the history and the different spiritual movements in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. Michel's own criticism is often poor and the leading spirit of his work is more that of the Frenchman Michel than that of the Dutchman and the Christian Rembrandt. For a deeper and more systematic study of Rembrandt the work of Michel does not satisfy and after him a better work on Rembrandt is not only possible but necessary.

understood. I will try only to explain the most interesting chapters in Rembrandt's great autobiography, seen in the light of the surroundings in which he lived among his Dutch people in the Netherlands of the 17th century.

First I will show you what it means that Rembrandt was a son of the Reformation.

Secondly, in how far we find in Rembrandt a typical Dutch character and *finally* why Rembrandt has become so attractive in our days, especially to the American people.

I begin by showing you Rembrandt as a son of the Reformation, because we find in this point the keynote for the understanding of his work and his whole significance in history. Here we find the explanation of the deep antithesis between Rembrandt and the great masters of the Roman Catholic schools in Italy and Spain as well as his antithesis against the classic world of Greece and Rome, reviving in the Renaissance.

Belgium produces a Rubens, whose instructor was Otto van Veen, the painter of six allegorical pictures representing the Triumph of the Catholic Church; the Netherlands produce a Rembrandt, born among the citizens of Leyden, the besieged city, the population of which was relieved from so immense sufferings under the Spanish tyranny.

The schools of Michael Angelo, Raphael and Titian in Italy, of Murillo and Velasquez in Spain, of Rubens in Belgium, represent the aristocratic ideas of the Roman Catholic Church, the world of Priests and Saints and Angels, dwelling between God and the people, the aristocratic idea of mediaeval feudalism and hierarchy, an idea rooted in the classic world of Greece and Rome where the millions of slaves lived under the tyrannical power of a relatively small number of proud citizens.

Rembrandt was educated as a son of the Reformation, as a son of those free and industrious citizens of the towns which were the first strongholds of Protestant toleration and liberty. From his youth he lived among those people who believed in the equality of men before God, in the priesthood of all believers, in the education of every citizen. And in that education of all citizens the bible took the first place. Rembrandt more than once painted or etched his dear mother with the Bible on her lap and from this fact we may conclude that he got a religious education from a pious mother. The more so because Rembrandt himself proved not only to be well acquainted with

the Bible but because during his whole life the stories of the Bible have been especially and continuously an inspiration for his wonderful art. It is surprising indeed that so few authors observed this, or at least mention it either not at all, or only with a few lines. 1) The number of his paintings, etchings and drawings is only approximately known, but according to the best authors there exist 450 paintings, 325 of which are portraits, 10 are subjects taken from the Greek and Roman world and not less than a hundred are from subjects of the Old and New Testament; out of his 270 etchings 140 are portraits, 10 are on humanistic subjects, 50 landscapes and not less than 75 are biblical sceneries; from his nearly 700 drawings, 300 are portraits, 150 landscapes, 15 are classical subjects and all the remaining 240 are subjects taken from scripture. So it is obvious the biblical studies and portraits are by far the greatest part of all his works, and if we now realize that a large number of the portraits were painted to order, and the rest are almost all pictures of his father and his mother, of his dear Saskia and Hendrikje, of his son Titus and of himself, it becomes very clear that in his free studies when he fully followed the free inclination of his sympathy, his heart dwelled nearly always either in the circle of his family or on biblical sceneries. "Rembrandt was always inspired," says Lewis Hind, "when he painted his own family. There is a quality about his portraits of father, mother, Saskia, Titus and Hendrikje, yes! and of himself, that speaks to us as if we were intimates. It is a personal appeal. We find it in every presentment that Rembrandt gives us of another figure which constantly inspired his brush—the figure of the Christ. In the *Woman taken in Adultery,* it is *His* figure that is articulate; it is the figure of *Christ* in the Emmaus picture that amazes; it is the figure of *Christ* that haunts us in a dozen of etchings." In times of misery and sorrow, which came upon him after

1) The French art critic Eugene Fromentier in his work "The Old Masters of Holland and Belgium," English translation, p. 123, from his French point of view neglects this at all and seems to understand nothing of Rembrandt but some technical points. Others as for instance Kenyon Cox follow his example mislaid by his fame as **French** painter and art-criticus, whose work seems to be the abundant source for many who enjov such kind of criticism. John C. van Dyke in his "Textbook for History of Painting," p. 209, says that Rembrandt "into types, taken from the streets and shops of Amsterdam, infused the very largest humanity through his inherent sympathy with man," but he does not speak at all of the fact that Rembrandt must have studied the bible from beginning to the end during his whole life, nor does he mention with one word Rembrandt's sympathy for the figure of Christ altho "Rembrandt knew his bible by heart," as William Bode says in his work on the Great Masters, p. 8. A. G. Radcliff in his work "Schools and Masters of Painting," p. 316, mentions with a few lines the influence of Protestantism on the art of painting but without any clear explanation.

2) Lewis Hint in the work of Mortimer Mempes on Rembrandt, p. 20.

Saskia had died, he found in the holy pages his consolation and his soul was dwelling on the eternal ideas of reconciliation and forgiveness. "Again and again," says Lewis Hind, "he treated the *Christ at Emmaus*, *The Good Samaritan*, and *The Prodigal Son* themes. Some strange presentment of his own fate, says Michel, seems to have haunted the artist, making him keenly susceptible to the story of *the Good Samaritan*. He too was destined to be stripped and wounded by life's wayside while many passed him by unheeding." 1) Rembrandt's art represents all the depth of thought which there was in the purified religion of the Reformation, and he was so much absorbed by the overwhelming ideas of this religion 2) that he little cared for the differences between the various Protestant denominations as the Reformed, Remonstrants, Baptists and Lutherans, differences which in their logical consequences certainly were important enough, but which, at least in that time, did not hinder from confessing the main Protestant ideas as Luther and Calvin explained them. Altho we know pretty well that Rembrandt himself belonged to the Reformed church, 1) nevertheless he painted the portrait of the great Remonstrant minister Uytenbogaerd and of Prince Frederic Hendrik and of the Baptist ministers Anslo and Alenson as well as that of his own uncle the Reformed minister Jan Sylvius and his collegue Eliasar Swalm. But most of all Rembrandt, in accordance with his birth in the besieged city and with his education among the lower classes of the industrious citizens, sympathized with those poor people among which the Reformation of Luther and Calvin had its best and most numerous adherents; among those people who suffered most from persecution and oppression and who finally became the true defenders of liberty and independence. From these people, the choice and the pith of the rising nation, the people in whom beat the very heart of the Reformation, the famous *Beggars* arose, and it is

1) Ibid. p. 17 and 18.

2) I can hardly understand Julia B. de Forest when she in her "History of Art," p. 286, writes: "Whether he was religious or not, is uncertain." It seems to me like writing: "Whether Luther and Calvin and John Knox were religious or not is uncertain." The works of Luther and Calvin and Knox do not speak more of their religion than the works of Rembrandt do.

3) This is based on the following facts: 1st, Rembrandt married Saskia van Ulenburg, a young lady far above his social standing and that of his family; the family of Saskia belonged to the Reformed church; her uncle Jan Sylvius was a minister of that church; her brother-in-law was the famous strong Calvinistic professor Maccovius of Franeker; this whole family certainly would have objected to the marriage if Rembrandt had not belonged to the same church; 2nd, the marriage took place in the Reformed church at Bildt in Friesland; 3rd, Rembrandt's children all were christened in the Reformed church and when they died were buried in the buildings of that church; 4th, Rembrandt's wife Saskia and his second wife Hendrikje and at last he himself all are buried in the buildings of the Reformed Church.

interesting to observe how Rembrandt felt himself attracted to these poor but stubborn and staunch defenders of liberty and independence. 1)

So he seems in harmooy and friendship with every deep religious movement of the Reformation.

Only the more humanistic people of the literary circle, called the Muiderkring, the circle of Hooft, van Baerle, Vondel and others, who lived more in the ideas of humanism of the Renaissance than in those of the Reformation, did not like Rembrandt and with them Rembrandt had no contact at all. 2) They felt that the ideals of beauty with Rembrandt were quite different from those of Greece and Rome. They did not understand the deep religious thoughts of the Reformation; they did not feel the spiritual beauty of the ideas of self-denial and mercy, of reconciliation and forgiveness and all those spiritual virtues with their eternal beauty, which found so unrivalled expression in the works of Rembrandt and for which those merry humanists did not care. The same antipathy against Rembrandt, as in the literary circle of Muiden prevailed in the circle of the Magistrates at Amsterdam and for the same reason. The influence of his friend the burgomaster Six might have had an effect for some better appreciation, still in 1661 the Magistrates of Amsterdam refused Rembrandt's picture of the revolt of Claudius Civilis, which they had ordered and which now is to be found in the Museum of Stockholm.

Yet not only the religious feelings but still another factor, closely connected with religion, viz., that of *morality* made an antithesis between Rembrandt and the old humanistic ideal of beauty. This antithesis we find most palpable in the painting of the nude model. All the schools of painting agree in this point that in the forms and lines of the human body, especially in the womanly figure, beauty reaches its highest point, as far as outward form and lines is concerned. But inseparably connected with the pictures of the nude is the enormous question of morality With the Greeks and Romans, among whom the morality, even in the life of men like Plato, had reached pretty well the very lowest degree of heathenism, this was no question at all. They sacrificed most willingly every idea of morality

1) Michel says: "The Beggars play a part as considerable in the works of Rembrandt as in the history of the Country." Rembrandt, p. 48.

2) "Hooft, Van Baerle and even Vondel recognized no rivals to Van Dyck and Rubens. They could not understand Rembrandt and never allude to him in their writings," Michel, p. 71. "Vondel contrasting the brightness of Flinck's work with the mystery of Rembrandt's, to whom he covertly alludes under the style of Prince of Darkness," etc. Michel, p. 221.

to that of beauty. The Italian, Spanish and Flemish schools of the Roman Catholic world tried to solve this problem by idealizing so highly the beauty of the nude that every thought of immorality should be excluded. In France the Humanism adopted the classic ideas and those of the Catholic schools. But in the Reformation we see the deep antithesis. Returning to the teachings and admonitions of Prophets and Apostles and of Christ himself about the perverseness of human nature, Luther and Calvin did not believe in the triumph of art over the attraction of immorality. They appealed to the Greek and Roman bad morals, notwithstanding their high art, and to the immorality of monks and priests and among the Roman Catholic people in Italy and Spain notwithstanding all ideals of the most sublime artists. They thought the idea itself mere hypocricy of humanism and appealed to the Apostle Paul when he said: "Make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." And their conclusion was, that they had to sacrifice part of this beauty in behalf of morality; that even the nudeness in our present state of life is not the ideal beauty but only a poor caricature of it, and that the original sinless beauty in Paradise as well as the future heavenly beauty is not the present nudeness, but the glory of holiness, with which God will glorify man's soul and body. Now it is remarkable what Rembrandt does. He chose decidedly for the idea of the Reformation, he refuses the classic humanism to find his delight and his consolation in the scriptural teachings and in painting the beautiful side of the human character in his portraits. And in the very few studies of the nude, which we have of Rembrandt, he, before everything preserves the morality and often we can observe how he felt himself that he had to sacrifice the beauty of forms and lines in behalf of morality.

Now if we see Rembrandt proceeding with his mighty creations of spiritual glory, dwelling upon the study of Scripture and the character of man, rejecting the Roman Catholic ideals of the Italian and Spanish schools, as well as the immorality of Greece and Rome, sympathizing with the suffering and struggling people of the Netherlands, 1) of which he himself was a true son, it becomes clear indeed, that more than

1) Julia B. de Forest in her "Short History of Art," p. 285, says: "He understood certain classes of men quite thoroughly and drew them with the utmost perspicacity—men with whom his robust nature had sympathy. He had an extraordinary apprehension of natural dignity and majesty, proving thereby the true grandeur of his own mind, for it is only minds of very high order that see the greatness of men, who enjoy little worldly rank and consideration."

anything else Rembrandt is to be looked at as a true son of the Reformation, that this is his main characteristic, prevailing in his whole life and in all his works. "No artist," says Wilhelm Bode 1)—and he knows Rembrandt—"was so great an apostle of Christianity as Rembrandt. Protestantism celebrated in him its greatest triumph, religious painting found in him its most inspiring interpreter." Every human being, even the poorest beggar, was in Rembrandt's eyes created after the image of God, born for liberty and for higher destiny, bearing in itself the ideas of hope and love, of mercy and reconciliation; and he shows these qualities, these passions and feelings in every portrait and in every Scriptural scenery as so many beautiful and imperishable sermons for all generations to come. It is his splendid democracy of the Reformation. What Luther and Calvin did for theology and church; what William the Silent did for religious and political liberty, that Rembrandt did for the world of art and nobody ever can understand Rembrandt unless he has looked at him as the artist and the true son of the Reformation. 2)

II. Only when so understood, and here I come to my second point, it will not be very difficult to discover in Rembrandt his typical Dutch character. In Rembrandt were living all the feelings of sufferings and struggle, all the depth of desire for religious liberty and political independence, all the spiritual richness of thought of the Reformation with which began a new era in history. What the very pith and the characteristic choice of the Dutch nation thought and felt, it was thought and felt by him and we have only to look at him from another side to see him, as Wilhelm Bode calls him, as "a Dutchman through and through." 3) In his homogeneity and unity with the religious movement of the Reformation with the persecuted and released people Rembrandt stands alone as a hero, as a martyr, as a prophet, and in this he has no equal among all the Dutch painters, most of whom were a merry set, as are many artists in the world. In his close affinity with the party of William the Silent and the Beggars, with the religious people and their ministers, who formed the first and invincible stronghold of resistance, around which all the rest of the nation united, Rembrandt stands alone and this makes him so different

1) Wilhelm Bode. Great Masters of Dutch and Flemish Painting, p. 10.
2) See Dr. A. Kuyper. Stone, Lectures, Calvinism and Art, p. 189-230, and the ideas of Taine and Carriere on the influence of Calvinism on art quoted there, p. 224 and 225; on Rembrandt, p. 224.
3) Wilhelm Bode, p. 5.

from all the others. But the hard struggle of the first martyrs and heroes had aroused at last the whole nation and after the year 1600, when the battle of Newport was fought and the critical period was over, there came a feeling of triumph and independence upon all the people, which brought forth a general awakening of energy, a freedom to self development accompanied with a self-directing and self-reliant spirit, that formed and strengthened the character not only of Rembrandt, but of the whole Dutch school of painters, and the character of the Dutch nation in every direction. And here we find the development of the Dutch national character as never before and never again. In trade and in industry, in state and church, in agriculture, in science and in art, everywhere we see that abundant outpouring of energy of a triumphant nation after its deadly struggle, and which should be admired in all the world. Every characteristic of the Dutch nation appeared in its full strength and in its highest development, and it is certainly interesting to see what those characteristics are and in how far we find them represented in Rembrandt.

In Germany there is a tendency to claim Rembrandt as a German, 1) and this is right in so far as the whole Dutch nation is grown up from Germanic tribes, and as everybody can observe the affinity of all those tribes in the unity of the Teutonic race. In that sense the whole Dutch nation bears a Germanistic character in deep antithesis for instance with the Romanistic and Semitic races.

But when we speak of the Dutch national character, we do not mean those general characteristics which all Germanistic tribes have in common, but rather those in which, by many centuries of history, by the situation of their country and by climate the various Germanistic tribes differ. And in making this distinction we will find out that certainly in a general sense the whole Dutch people shows a Germanistic character but that in a more special sense, some very important characteristics have developed in history which are purely and typically Dutch. 2) One of the greatest causes for this has been the continuous struggle against the sea, not for centuries but for more than two thousand years. This had an influence on the people of the Low Countries, which no other Germanistic tribe experienced, nevertheless an influence of a very far

1) Wilhelm Bode, p. 3.
2) On the character of the Dutch people see R. Fruin, Verspreide Geschriften, I, p. 1-21 and J. van Dellen in Gedenkboek van de Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerken, vijftigjarig jubileum, 1857-1907, p. 189.

stretching kind. From the time of Julius Caesar and Tacitus these tribes, who lived in the Low Countries along the shores of the North Sea, had a fame, as Caesar says, of being the bravest of all Celts, a race engaged for generations in stubborn conflict with the angry elements, a race, says Motley, 1) that chained the tyrant ocean and his mighty streams into subserviency, forcing them to fertilize, to render commodious, to cover with a beneficent network of veins and arteries, and to bind by watery highways with the farthest ends of the world a country disinherited by nature in its rights." Generation after generation grew up and passed away wrestling against the encroachments of the sea. Sometimes one storm annihilated the work of fifty years, and the survivors started again with energy and industry the same work of patience and perseverance. Century after century they ameliorated and perfected their dykes and canals, still all the time in danger that threatening storms might flood their land and even in our present day the annual cost of waterworks in the Netherlands is estimated at 14 millions of guilders. If you wish to know the Dutch people, behold their dykes, read their history, look at those marvels of inexhaustible patience and never broken industry and you will see the character of a people that never gave away, a people for which the suppression and persecution of Alva and Philip was like one of their great floods in history, when the sea swept away and swallowed in one stormy night a number of entire villages with houses and cattle and every living soul, only to arouse the survivors to start again the struggle with redoubled patience and energy. And not only this *patience* and this *inexhaustible energy* became a characteristic of the Dutch people as we find it in the never resting and always working Rembrandt, but it made them *phlegmatic* and quiet in prosperity as well as in adversity and it gave their original Germanistic phlegmatism an exponent. A struggle against men may irritate, struggle against nature makes patient, phlegmatic and quiet, as you can always observe in fisher people. Further the forces of nature do not care for outward splendor or fine dress as the society of men, but require industrious labor, and such a labor in which fine dressing is impossible and so the Dutch character is *typically plain* in *outward*

3) Motley. Rise of the Dutch Republic, I. Historical Introduction.

appearance 1) but with a *hidden energy* that often surprises those who are not acquainted with their history and character. So was Rembrandt. He did not care for all the outward splendor as the great Italian and Spanish masters did. Even in his most prosperous days he is working all the time not caring for high society, but with an energy, which nobody could see, with ideals which nobody dreamed of. In all quietness he projected and finished his marvelous creations with a skill and in such numerous works as no one would expect from his outward appearance as the citizens of Amsterdam saw him. We see him in his magnificent portraits, his splendid qualities and hidden characteristics speaking to us from his artistic pictures, but his fellow citizens saw him in all his plain reality as a typical Dutchman not observing the splendid qualities of this genius, which was hidden behind his plain and common appearance. Moreover we see the Dutch people always working and helping themselves in the conditions which nature gave them, learning all the time to live in perfect *self-direction* and *self-reliance,* going their own way in quiet contentment; and so was Rembrandt. He followed his own way and had his own ideas; he worked them out with self-direction and, skilled by continuous labor, in perfect self-reliance. Of course all these qualities had for many of the Dutch people its shadowy side and often degenerated in numerous faults and unattractive habits, but for a man of superior talents and high capacities, for a genius as Rembrandt was, these qualities appeared in their full brilliancy. Still another more Germanistic characteristic, which got an exponent in the Netherlands, was the *love of family life,* 2) for which the Dutch people has a good fame and which we observe in so high a degree in Rembrandt's life and character. The great number of lovely portraits of his father, his mother, his dear Saskia, his son and his second wife Hendrikje show all the world how he was delighted with his family while on the contrary everybody knows how little he cared for society of high standing. He was as true a Christian as he was a real democrat and he neither bowed for aristo-

1) I hardly need to say that with this outward plainness I do not mean the poverty and stupidity as for instance is to be found in the Marken and Volendam poor people with their wooden shoes and whom foreigners are often so anxious to look at and for which they are so often laughed at by the Dutch people. But I mean for instance the splendid plainness of the buildings of the famous Leyden University and the plainness of University-life at Leyden, that most splendid old Dutch type of outward plainness and hidden energy in every part of life even in cultivating scientific research of the very first rank.

1) From the most ancient time the entire life of the Germanistic tribes rests on the basis of family; the "**Sippe**" as they call it, the word **Sibja** means both family and peace. **Felix Dahn, Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Volker, I, 103; IV, 3.**

cratic arrogance nor dwelled on the vulgarity of the degenerated mob; he was as deep a thinker as he was an indefatigable worker; he was as kind a husband as passionate in love for his art; he was as independent in choosing his own way as he was self-reliant, trusting in his own skill and in everything we find in him the splendid but true type and the highest development of those characteristics, which everybody can discover in the Dutch people of which he was the true and typical son.

III. Now finally after having shown you Rembrandt as a son of the Reformation and in his typical Dutch character, I will try to explain with a few words the interesting question, why Rembrandt in our time has become so attractive to the whole world and especially in America.

In his story of the Dutch painting Charles H. Caffin 1) says that "Rembrandt was but dimly recognized in his own days, in the succeeding century forgotten and is only beginning to be fully understood in our own time."

This is true, and the reason which Caffin gives for these facts touch the very heart of the question. "Rembrandt," he says, "has revolutionized our attidude towards beauty." The absolutism of the classic ideal has been overthrown by him. Art that once was solely aristocratic has been expanded to include the democratic ideal. It was therefore necessary for the world to have mastered the democratic ideal as a principle of life and conduct before it could be capable of appreciating Rembrandt to the full. As long as society was conditioned by the aristocratic theory, Greek art and the Renaissance interpretation of its principles sufficed; but with the growth and spread of the democratic theory a new principle became necessary. Rembrandt conceived it and our own age is learning to apply it." The Reformation was the revival of the old Christian idea, viz. that even the poorest slave was created after the image of God, created for eternal destiny; that all men are equal before God; that the eternal value of every human soul has to be recognized; that there is a priesthood of all believers. 2) This was the basis and the starting point of all modern democracy and it was Rembrandt who realized these fundamental ideas of democracy in the beautiful creations of his art. Beginning with Christ and the holy family, he showed to the

1) Charles H. Caffin. The Story of Dutch Painting. London, 1910, p. 71.
2) See G. P. Gooch. The History of English Democratic ideas in the 17th Century. Cambridge, 1898, p. 8 and 9.
The author calls "modern democracy the child of the Reformation."

world the beauty of soul and character even under the poorest appearances and circumstances of human life and in the splendid efforts of his mighty art he preached the ideas of modern democracy. Now in our present time the democratic ideas are to be found in every civilized nation, but nowhere do we find a democracy as the mighty leading principle of life and of a whole society as in America. In the same way it is with the sympathy for Rembrandt and the attractiveness of his art. Everywhere in the civilized world Rembrandt is recognized as the great master, but nowhere his work finds more affinity and more sympathy than in the commonwealth of the great American Democracy. And that not only for his work but as well for his eminent democratic personality and character for which you should think him a real American of the twentieth century.

The best authors who write about the spirit of the American people, as for instance Prof. Munsterberg, Henry van Dyke and Nicholas Murray Butler, 1) show us that the spirit of the American people is religious, that it is the spirit of equality of opportunity and especially the spirit of self-direction and self-reliance in which you recognize the true American. But who in the world could be more true to religion, could be more really democratic, could be more self-directing and self-reliant than Rembrandt was? You wish a splendid proof of his self direction and his self-reliance, let me tell you the story of the Night Watch. It was in the year 1642, the year in which his beloved Saskia died. Eight years he had lived with her at his side in the most happy way. Rembrandt was now 33 years of age and in the full power and energy of his life, but the illness and death of Saskia threw a dark shadow over his life and brought him in despair of sorrow and grief. His only consolation and diversion was in his studio. It was in that time that the civic guard company of Captain Banning Cock gave him an order to make a picture of that company, a picture since known as the famous Night Watch. 2) The intention of the company was to have made a picture showing the portraits of every member and therefore every one of them promised to pay a hundred guilders and so each of them expected to find on the picture his own portrait as fine and prominent as that of every-

1) Hugo Munsterberg. The Americans. New York, 1407. Nicholas Murray Butler. The American as He Is. New York, 1908 and Henry van Dyke. The spirit of America. New York, 1910.

2) In the Night Watch "he embodied that civic heroism which had lately compassed Dutch independence," Michel, p. 223.

body else. They intended to have just a collection of portraits on one picture. But Rembrandt, absorbed in his studio and mastered by his mighty creative impressions, projected quite another and infinitely higher scheme. The civic guard, watching the liberty of the citizens and the independence of the country aroused ideas and feelings in this son of liberty far above those which the members of the company themselves ever had dreamed of. His conception was to create a national monument of the Dutch civic guard for which this company served as a mere model and on which he gave to each of the members a quite different place as required for the harmony and unity of the whole and in which some of them got a very subordinate place as compared with others whom he had to put in the full light of the central position. So Rembrandt stood before the choice, either to make a collection of portraits for each of which was paid a hundred guilders as the company intended him to do, or to follow the creative imagination of his own idealistic and patriotic conception. And he did not hesitate for a moment. As decidedly as possible he followed his own idea, he maintained his self-direction, he refused to sacrifice his own conception and the result was the marvelous national monument of the Dutch civic guard, perhaps the most famous masterpiece in the art of painting the world ever saw; a beautiful group of plain citizens following their captain and his lieutenant, who apparently are engaged in earnest conversation and whose faces reproduce the safety of the citizens liberty and independence under the protection of such sturdy and splendid guards. He created an everlasting and ideal monument for the safety and the defense of civic rights and liberties not only for the Dutch Republic but for every Democracy in the world and this we owe to Rembrandt's invincible spirit of self direction. But of course the majority of the members of the company, whose portraits had got a subordinate place, and who did not understand the conception of Rembrandt, were disappointed and we can the better forgive and pardon them as in later time we see so many people, even art critics of high pretention, who never understood Rembrandt, never penetrated to the true ideas of his art, never even discovered the democratic idealism of his art, for the simple reason that this is a matter not only of art, but largely a matter of interpretation of

history, with which many art critics often show themselves very little acquainted. 1)

Finally a few words about the question why Rembrandt in his own time was but dimly recognized, in the succeeding century forgotten and is only beginning to be fully understood in our times, all of which, after what I told, can be very easily understood.

In his own days, the only people who really lived in the religious and political atmosphere of Rembrandt, and who had the same ideas and feelings with him, were the plain citizens, the Beggars, the poor people of William the Silent, the lower but deeply religious classes of the Reformed and Baptist churches. But those people were too poor to buy expensive pictures and lived too little in the higher education of art to be of any assistance for the repute of Rembrandt. And the higher classes of the people, either lived in the humanistic circles as that of the Muiden circle, or were too aristocratic as were the oligarchic Regents, the Magistrates of the cities, and so Rembrandt was not appreciated.

In the succeeding century, the time of Rationalism and Deism, the century of intellectualism and sarcasm, the age of Voltaire and William Hogarth, we need not to say that the true son of the Reformation was neither understood nor appreciated.

But in our present time of religious revivals, of deep feelings and earnest thoughts, in our age of triumphant democracy Rembrandt meets with sympathy and his work is studied, understood and appreciated more and more. The religious and democratic ideas in which Rembrandt breathed and lived are not more the ideas and feelings only of a poor suffering and struggling people, but they have become the soul and the spirit of the entire great American Commonwealth with far reaching influence all over the world, and nobody can be surprised that Rembrandt is the master of the day, and that this noble son of the Reformation, this prophet of modern Democracy, this marvelous prince of art, who was so far ahead of his own time, as far as art is concerned, as William of Orange was in political freedom; nobody can be surprised that in our days and especially in America Rembrandt is honored with love

1) The engraver Timothy Cole in his work "Old Dutch and Flemish Masters," New York, 1901, seems to have the same idea which had the disappointed members of the Company, when he wrote about Rembrandt: "His mind was too serious for the storie of a shooting company," p. 31.

and sympathy, that his work is the main attraction in every gallery, and that the holy secret of his art is understood and admired by the staunch and sturdy sons of liberty and democracy. 1)

1) Even the reason why the Dutch school of painters produced such an amazingly large number of masters of the very first rank when compared with the relatively small number of the Italian and Spanish schools, is to be found in its democratic character. A democratic inspiration always touches a much broader class of people than an aristocratic one. In this fact, in this historical truth lays the present and still more the future strength and splendor of the American nation and its triumph over all nations of Old Feudal Europe, where there is no hope, notwithstanding any democratic movement, that the people ever will get rid of the old artistocratic predominance, the inseparable and essential element in the monarchal system surrounding every royal court and holding a place of arrogance among the people of which an American never has any idea. This is the worse because European artisocracy is not at all a question of merit or abilty, but merely of birth and consequently the percentage of unable and worthless individuals among the aristocracy is as great, most of the time even greater, by luxury and degeneration, than among the common people. All these unable and unworthy elements, which we can call the aristocratic mob, maintain by arrogance and by the assistance of their relatives the high position and never cease to cause every kind of corruption, debauchery and depravity among the higher classes. In exceptional cases, when they do not know, what to do with some individuals of their aristocratic mob, most of the time after many years of continuous moral and financial crimes, they send them to America to restore, if not their health and their hereditary repravity, then at least their wealth by marrying a wealthy American girl, desirious of an empty title, indicating most of the time in the first place hereditary depravity and degeneration. The danger of the encroachment of European aristocracy with their feudal arrogance and all kinds of corruption is a real one for the higher classes of the American nation and threatens to despise the most beautiful, most sound and fundamental ideas of American democracy.

VI.

RISE OF AMSTERDAM

The Exchange of Amsterdam in the Year 1610, at that time, in which Hendrik Hudson sailed from Amsterdam, the Greatest Center of Commerce in the World

THE RISE OF AMSTERDAM

The rise of Amsterdam is such a marvelous event in the first century of Modern History, and it is at the same time so closely connected with the history of the Netherlands, that it may be considered as one of the most interesting chapters in the history of economics, not only of the Netherlands, but even in the history of the world.

I know very well that treating an economical subject and entering the field of economics before the American public, I enter a dangerous field. I know that one may ask me, whether I think that any American, living in the midst of American life with its marvelous economical development, leaving far behind it every economical process in the world, should take even the least interest in an economical subject, as the rise of a Dutch city at the end of the 16th century. And as an answer to this question I should like to ask this other question, viz., whether there could be one single American who should not be interested in the rise of a city as Amsterdam, a city, which in the time of its decline still was able and was willing to lend millions of money to assist the American colonies in their struggle for liberty and independence and to help in making possible the future development of the United States.

And even besides any special interest of America in the history of Holland, we live in a time in which the economical factor in life and in history is more appreciated than ever before, a time in which no subjects attract more attention, and in which people show so much interest than in those of economics. There is even a tendency in our modern society which exaggerates and overestimates the influence of economic life, so that everything is brought back to economical causes, everything is held to be dependent upon material wealth and at last every body has to kneel before Mammon as his God.

I hardly need to say, that, when treating an economical subject as the rise of Amsterdam, I do *not* wish to exaggerate econmics as to *propagate* the *materialistic life system.* The remembrance of Rembrandt, who devoted himself in showing

us the ideals of life even under the poorest economical circumstances is too fresh, even to think of such an idea. Besides this, everybody knows that the exaggeration of economical influences and materialistic tendency was a well deserved reaction against the neglect of economics in the intellectual school of some 50 years ago, and that nowadays everywhere, in *France* in the school of Ferd de Brunetiere, in *Germany* in the idealistic philosophy, in *Holland, England* and *America* in religious revivals, the equilibrium is going to be restored and the time has come to avoid exaggeration as well as neglecting the economical factor in history and to study the history of economics as the history of one of the most interesting branches of human life.

One may recognize every other factor in life, but never the history, the development and the character of any nation can be well understood without some thorough knowledge of its economical life.

It is as impossible to understand any nation in its historical development, without recognizing the economical factor of material wealth, as without recognizing the political and religious factors in life.

Especially for an American student who has to face every day a society in which the economical development takes so exceptional a high rank, for him the study of history of economics is *one of the best remedies* against one-sided and overwhelming materialism and to preserve the right equilibrium in his life system, observing how economy is *one* interesting factor in life, but *not the only one* and even not the highest of all.

Now in the history of economics, *the rise of Amsterdam* is not only an event in the history of the Dutch nation but one of those chapters in the general history of economics, which in every textbook on the subject takes an important place, and which in the economical history of the human race never will an enormous position as that to which the Dutch Republic grew in the 17th century.

Like in our present time the economical development of America it is *one of the great marvels* in the economical history of the world, how a small country as the Netherlands with its center in Amsterdam could grow within a short time to such an enormous position as that to which the Dutch Republic grew in the 17th century.

No wonder indeed that not only Dutch scholars as *Treub* 1) and *Van Rees* 2) but as well some of the best authors on economy in Germany as *Laspeyres,* 3) *Pringsheim* 4) and *Rosscher* 5) tried to explain such facts, how a republic, which in its glorious period was ahead of all Europe in art and in science, in political as well as in religious life, developed in its economical life, and even had a whole school of learned scholars in economics, a school in which famous authors as *Hugo Grotius* and *Salmasius, Graswinckel, Boxhorn* and *Peter de la Court* showed themselves quite conscious of what happened in the economical life of their people.

Allow me to tell you the story in its three phases as they followed each other,

1. The rise of the Dutch cities in general till the war of Independence.
2. In the devastation and decline of the southern part of the Netherlands, the present Belgium, with its cities.
3. In the rise of the Dutch Republic and especially of Amsterdam.

So I will first tell you with a few words the rise of the cities in the Netherlands till the beginning of the war of Independence in the year 1568.

The Netherlands included at that time what is now the Kingdom of Belgium and Holland: Belgium, called the southern Netherlands with *ten* provinces and Holland including the *seven* northern provinces. Altogether they were called the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands.

Now it is a matter of fact, that before the revolutionary war, that is before the year 1568, the southern provinces were much more prosperous than those of North Netherland, and especially the cities of Flanders one of the southern provinces, cities as *Bruges, Ghent* and *Antwerp* were much more important than Rotterdam, Leyden, Haarlem and even than *Amsterdam* about that time. But this is no wonder as we know that those Flemish cities were at that time the greatest center of trade and industry in the world so that even that of London

1) M. W. F. Treub Hoofdstukken uit de Geschiedenis der Staathuishoud vunde Haarlem, 1904.
2) O. van Rees. Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland, 2 vols., utrecht, 1865.
3) Etienne Laspeyres. Geschichte der Volkswirtchaftlichen Anschauungen der Niederlander und ihrer Literatur zur Zeit der Republik. Leipzig, 1863.
4) Otto Pringsheim. Beitrage zur wirthschaftlichen Entwickelungs-geschichte der Vereinigten Niederlande im 17 and 18. Jahrhundert. Leipzig, 1890.
5) Wilhelm Roscher. Geschichte der National oeconomic in Deutchland. Munchen, 1874, p. 22-228.

was not to compare with the trade and industry of Bruges, Ghent and Antwerp.

To understand this we must take a general view of the situation of all western Europe at the end of the middle ages.

The civilization of the Mediaeval centuries had at last concentrated the European trade and industry around the *two great centers,* one in the North being the *Baltic* sea, and one in the South being the *Mediterranean.*

The countries around the *Baltic* produced grain and timber in great abundance; the countries around the *Mediterranean* were productive in wines, oils and salt, and other products of the South.

The trade in *Northern Europe* had been for centuries in the hands of the so-called Hanseatic league of Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck and many other cities.

The trade of *Southern* Europe had been for centuries in the hands of Venice, Genoa and other Italian, Spanish and Portuguese cities.

Now just between those two great centers of Northern and Southern Europe, between the Baltic and Mediterranean seas, lay the Netherlands, and it was quite natural that in those Low Countries on the shores of the North sea with their many harbors, should arise some markets, where the traders of the Hanseatic cities from the North brought their lumber, their grain and their fish, and the Italian and Spanish traders their wine, their oil and their salt.

Besides this the *English* brought thither the abundant quantity of wool for the Flemish factories and *along the Rhine* merchandise came down from central Europe since olden times.

All these causes together made the Flemish cities, first of all Bruges and later on Ghent and Antwerp the central markets of Europe. Strong by their old privileges and proud of their self-government the citizens of Bruges in 1488 kept prisoner even the later emperor Maximilian till he submitted to their terms and gave hostages. *Commynes,* a contemporary of Charles the Bold, who had travelled over all Europe and was ambassador at Venice, says that in Bruges there was more business and trade than in any other city in the world. 1) What Bruges was in the 15th that Antwerp became in the first half of the 16th century.

1) R. Fruin. Tien jaren. Amst., 1861, p. 210.

The accumulated wealth and prosperity of these cities at that time is so enormous that it seems to exceed every description. At one time a queen of France visited one of these Flemish cities and was received at a great banquet of the most wealthy citizens. The queen seeing the enormous splendor and the fine dresses of the ladies exclaimed: "I thought that I was the only queen here, but I see that all ladies here are queens." The number of inhabitants of London was at that time only 150,000 that of Antwerp 100,000, but the trade and wealth of London was not to compare with that of Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges, the great centers of Flanders.

Antwerp, says Motley, 1) was to the rest of Europe in the 16th century. what London became in the 19th, viz., the great heart of commercial circulation."

The cities of the Northern Provinces as Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Leyden, Haarlem, Hoorn, Enkhuizen and even Amsterdam at that time disappeared in the splendor of the Flemish and Brabant centers of trade and wealth. 2)

And yet the cities of the Northern Provinces were as well in the best flourishing conditions; but the origin of their power and wealth was from the beginning another one. For centuries after centuries the people of the Northern Provinces were able fishermen, and being at home on their ships they carried on trade, which they now extended to the remotest corners of the globe. In the thirteenth century Amsterdam which was destined to become the Venice of the North, could hardly be called a town, for in 1204 the future commercial metropolis of the Netherlands, and of the world, consisted only of a small castle surrounded by a few fisher huts; but Amsterdam grew rapidly, owing to its trade, and in 1342 it received the privileges already possessed by various other Dutch towns. Its inhabitants and in general those of the cities of the Northern Provinces were trained from generation to generation to battle with the waves and found their true element in the ocean. Now the invention of a humble fisherman, called *William Beuckelzoom* of Biervliet, a little village in Zealand, in the 14th century, became an event in history. He found out how to get the herring, what means to make them in such a condition that they could be preserved and sent to every part of the world. From that time the herring fishery became an enor-

1) John Lothrop Motley. Rise of the Dutch Republic, vol. I, chap. 3.
2) Fruin. ibid, 211.

mous mine of wealth and the number of ships that sailed out since that time from cities as Amsterdam, increased every year. Half a century after the invention of William Beuckelszoom Charles the Bold, the count of Holland offered 500 ships from Holland and Zeeland to accompany King Edward IV. back to England. *Marliani,* the physician of Charles V. says that the Hollanders got more gold from the sea than other people with hand labor got from their agricultures. 1) The Italian *Guiciardini* values the yearly production of the herring fishery one half a million Flemish pounds. 2)

Now these herring fisheries and herring trade were about all in the hands of the Northern Provinces.

In the year 1562 the number of ships for the herring fisheries was estimated as being 700, only 100 of which were Flemish, 200 of Zeeland and 400 of the province of Holland, and these 400 were by far the largest kind of ships.

So Holland and Zeeland had nearly the whole fishery in which they found the best training school as the future freight sailors and mariners of Europe.

Connected with the great extension of the fisheries was the shipbuilding, the salt trade, and more and more every kind of trade. Amsterdam the central harbor of the northern provinces was growing rapidly, and at the time of the outbreak of the war about 1568, Guicciardini tells us that sometimes 500 great ships lay in the harbor of Amsterdam. 3)

And not only every kind of manufacturing but as well the agriculture made great profits from this vast growth of fishery and trade.

Butter and cheese from the fertile meadows of Holland and Friesland became articles for export and brought comfort and wealth to the farmers, and to the villages in the country.

At the same time *Junius* estimated the mercantile marine of Holland at 800 till 1000 ships, *Comynes* tells us that no country had so many immured cities, and the Spaniard *Calvete d' Estrella* says that he knows no country so full of towns and villages with so neat and clean houses. 4)

So we see that before the outbreak of the revolution in 1568, the Northern Provinces certainly not were in such an abundant wealth as the Flemish cities of the South, but never-

1) Ibid. 213.
2) Ibid. 214.
3) Ibid. 217.
4) Ibid. 217.

theless enjoyed a prosperity of their own, based upon their fishery, their trade and their agriculture, and that the people of the northern provinces had the advantage of their thorough training in ruling the waves, bearing the prophesy of their future power, of their final triumph over their enemies and of the splendid position which during the war of independence their new Republic should obtain.

II. But now we approach the second phase in the rise of the Northern Provinces and especially in that of Amsterdam, viz., the downfall of the Southern provinces under the Spanish devastation, which became the reason why thousands of the best citizens fled from Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent and many other places to find a refuge in the cities of the North, especially in Amsterdam.

Until the outbreak of the Revolution, until the arrival of the Duke of Alva in the year 1567, the ten Southern Provinces and especially Flanders and Brabant were the most prosperous of all; the trade and industry was divided between North and South. Bruges, Ghent and Antwerp excelled in splendor of riches and wealth above the cities of the North as Rotterdam, Leyden and Amsterdam. Both the Southern and the Northern Provinces came in revolt against the Spanish Tyranny, but from the beginning there was a quite different spirit in the two parts of the Netherlands.

As decided and resolute as was the spirit of the Northern Provinces as irresolute and vacillating was that which prevailed in the South. Even before the arrival of Alva we see this great difference in William the Silent as representing the spirit of the North and in the counts of Egmond and Horne, representing the true spirit of the South.

The Prince of Orange was resolute and for years he had made up his mind to resist the tyranny of Philip and at last to risk his life and his properties for the cause of liberty and independence; his heart was with the suffering people who risked their life and that of their families for religious liberty. The Prince did everything to convince his friends, the counts of Egmond and Horne, to strengthen their vacillating minds, to communicate to them his decidedness, his firmness and unshakable resolve.

But it was all in vain. They were not of the same spirit. Their attitude towards the deepest motives of the revolution was quite different. In these noble representatives of

the South there lived not the real spirit of the Reformation; their vacillating spirit was not adequate to the deadly struggle which they had to face.

The Prince of Orange left the country and lost everything except his liberty, his independence and his energy. And that line of conduct was followed in the Northern Provinces.

But the counts of Egmond and Horne approached Alva with vacillating hearts, undecidedly, leaving everything to the decision of Alva and Philip, submitting themselves with fear and sorrow, standing for liberty, but irresolute, disheartened and undecidedly.

And so did the Southern Provinces.

The Prince of Orange and his stubborn Beggars of the North, steadfast by their unmovable conviction, and strengthened in their heart by the deepest thoughts of the Reformation, fought the battle against the bigotry and tyranny to the knife and they at last succeeded.

The counts of Egmond and Horne with their vacillation and all the time conciliating with their half Catholic and half Protestant spirit of the South, made themselves the easiest party for the iron duke of Alva and the bigoted tyranny of Philip, and the whole struggle of these nobles and of their Southern Provinces became a failure.

As a result of their weak and vacillating policy, Egmond and Horne were among the first who were trampled under the feet of the brute tyrant; they were beheaded shortly after the arrival of Alva in Brussels, their heads were exposed during two hours on iron stakes in the most shameful way and afterwards boxed up and sent to Philip in Spain. A similar fate was hanging over the Southern Provinces. Their undecidedness and vacillation made them as easy a prey to the iron policy of Spanish tyranny as had been the weak and disheartened counts of Egmond and Horne.

In Brussels, the capital of Belgium, the seat of Alva, the heart of the Southern Provinces, they have erected a statue for Egmond and Horne, representing the true spirit of the South in the days of that great revolt. Their vacillating spirit was the spirit of the South and consequently their dreadful fate became the fate of the Southern Provinces. Go to Brussels; look at the statues of Egmond and Horne and you see the history of the South.

No man can describe the devastation, the total ruin, which

from the arrival of Alva till the final capture of Antwerp in 1585 is brought over the Southern Provinces.

Only the prophecies of Isaiah 1) over the cities of ancient times seem to describe in adequate words the fate of the Southern Netherlands under the Spanish tyranny, and the dreadful reward which those provinces received for their vacillation and disheartened spirit. What the Prophet of the Old Covenant says about the destruction of Babylon can be quoted to a good extent as the fate of the Southern Provinces under the Spanish devastation: "Every one that is found shall be thrust through; and every one that is joined unto them, shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes; their houses shall be spoiled and their wives ravished. Behold I will stir up the Spaniards against them, which shall not regard silver; and as for gold they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children." Indeed so became the fate of the southern cities. The better part of their inhabitants, as far as they were not murdered, fled to the Northern Provinces, to England, or to Emden in East Friesland. Their fertile country, robbed and devastated by Spanish soldiers, became a wilderness. Towns as Bruges and Ghent during centuries the pride of Western Europe, the centers of wealth and civilization, became the prey of Spanish troops, and Antwerp, the mighty capital of Flanders, in 1576 saw its brave citizens murdered in its own streets and its palaces burned by 6000 rioting Spanish mutineers. "Six million dollars worth of property was consumed by the flames. Catholics and Protestants, foreigners and natives, were alike plundered. The splendid city was a wreck. Five hundred marble palaces, among them the magnificent City Hall were blackened ruins. The streets and squares were lined with dead bodies. Riot and gaming followed murder and pillage in the five days sack of Antwerp. The terrible scourge that had thus crushed the rich and prosperous city was aptly called the Spanish fury. It was the most frightful atrocity yet committed in the Netherlands. "2) In their utmost despair and under the suggestions of William of Orange, the Southern Provinces entered for a while into the Pacification of Ghent, but the vacillation and

1) For instance Isajah, 13:12-17.
2) Alexander Young. History of the Netherlands, Akron, Ohio, 1903, p. 195.

disheartened spirit, their lack of the deepest and true inspiration soon prevailed again and only nine years after the Spanish fury, Antwerp received its deadly blow, when the Spanish governor, the Duke of Parma, conquered the city and reunited all the Southern Provinces under the tyranny of Spain.

But what the Spaniards had regained was not the rich and opulent Provinces of Charles V. with their accumulated wealth in their cities, with their world trade and industry, with their fertile and rich country, but only one great ruin and devastated land, with cities empty and dead. Famine and pest now seemed to co-operate with the furious Spanish troops to take away even the last resemblance of earlier greatness and splendor. Cities were depopulated, villages died out, hungry wolves wandered through the country, stayed in the deserted houses, devoured the cattle and attacked even the few remaining people. 1) One place, Lokeren, is mentioned, where 17 people were attacked by wolves. As soon as Antwerp was under Spanish control, the sea beggars of the Prince closed the mouth of the river Scheldt so that no ship could approach the city and every restoration of commerce and trade became impossible.

So complete was the ruin and devastation of Flanders and Brabant within the short time of nearly twenty years.

But these twenty years, so dreadful and fatal for the Southern Provinces, had a remarkable influence in the Provinces of the North and especially on the rise of Amsterdam. A considerable part of the best citizens of Antwerp and other places in the South in time fled from the south and took refuge in different places, but most in the Northern Provinces and especially in Amsterdam the rising center of commerce and wealth, which now very rapidly became the market place of all Western Europe.

III. And here I come to the third phase of the rise of Amsterdam, the period after the total ruin of Antwerp as a center of commerce and trade.

The twenty years of Spanish fury and devastation in the South, were the years of transition and transformation for Amsterdam.

In those twenty years, while the Southern Provinces were a continuous prey of Spanish robbery, the Northern Part of the Netherlands were fighting their deadly battle. Under the

1) Fruin. Tien jaren, 263. Van Meteren, book 4, p. 270. Bor II, 285.

device of the Prince of Orange: *Saevis tranquillus in undis,* what means *steadfast like a rock in the midst of ardent waves,* they made their cities the strongholds of liberty and independence and the refuge of all who fled from persecution. Thousands of the best citizens of Flanders and Brabant, merchants and manufacturers, skilled laborers and wealthy tradesmen came to the Northern cities and especially to Amsterdam. In the year 1585, just after the death of William of Orange, Antwerp was taken by Parma, the last and the foremost stronghold of the South was now brought back under the power of the Spaniards, the downfall and ruin of Flanders and Brabant was complete, its best inhabitants had moved to the north and the Seven United Provinces resolute and decided more than ever before fought their struggle for liberty under Prince Maurits, the son of William the Silent, but *now* under Maurice's characteristic device: *tandem fit surculus arbor,* that is: *at last the sprout becomes a tree.* A more true and characteristic device for this period of their struggle certainly never could have been chosen. Indeed the sprout now became a tree. This was apparent especially in the farther rise of Amsterdam the capital and the center of the Northern Provinces. Amsterdam, flourishing at the time of the outbreak of the revolution, beautiful situated for a nearly untakable stronghold, on one side at the sea and provided with the finest harbor of that time, on the landside surrounded by swamps and morasses, now enriched by thousands of refugees from the South, attracted more and more all of the trade and industry which a few years ago had its centers in Flanders and Brabant. The timber and the grain from the Baltic, the wines and oil and salt from the Mediterranean, the wool from England, it all found a central market in Amsterdam. The herring fisheries were more numerous than ever before, the sea beggars brought thither their many captured Spanish merchantmen. In 1598 one time within *one week* 600 ships loaded with grain from the Baltic entered the harbor of Amsterdam. Three years later in 1601 within *three days* between 900 and 1000 ships sailed from Amsterdam to the Baltic for grain. Not less than thirty thousand mariners served on the Dutch merchantmen and that in a time when in all England served only one third of that number. 1)

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1) Fruin. Ibid. 233.

In 1601 the fisherfleet of Holland and Zeeland existed in not less than 1500 vessels 1) and some years later the States General told James I. king of England, that more than 20,000 mariners occupied themselves in the herring fisheries and above that 40,000 other people made their living in shipbuilding and other business connected with their fisheries.

Trained for centuries by those fisheries, the numerous Dutch mariners had learned to rule the waves and soon followd the Portuguese to East-India; learned men like *William Usselinx* and *Peter Plancius* at Amsterdam gave their advice to *Hendrick Hudson* for his discovery of the Hudson river which was followed by the founding of New York City and the West India Company. Several companies were established for the trade with the East-Indies, soon united in one great East-India Company. Dutch ships were seen on every sea in the world, even in the harbors of Japan where no other nation was allowed to enter except the Dutch. The United Netherlands were growing very rapidly, the glorious Republic was in its rising period and in that Republic Amsterdam was the capital, the central harbor and the central marketplace.

The English established an East-India Company of which the first capital was 72,000 pounds, but the Dutch East-India Company started with a capital of 550,000 pounds.

Amsterdam, says Rogers, 2) was deemed to be the largest and most opulent center of European commerce and European finance, far surpassing those splendid cities of the Middle Ages, Florence, Genoa and Venice.3) In 1609 the Bank of Amsterdam was founded, nearly a hundred years before a great central Bank in England was entertained. 4) Rogers called the Bank of Amsterdam the most remarkable of the Dutch undertakings and for nearly two centuries the most envied institution which Holland entertained. 5) Before the end of the 17th century this Bank was known to have metallic deposits of 180 millions of dollars, a treasure says Rogers, 6) more prodigious than any European financier at that time thought could be possibly accumulated.

Now it is one of the most remarkable things that, while Amsterdam arose to such an enormous center of trade and

1) ibid. 237.
2) James E. Thorold Rogers. Holland. London, 1887, p. 178.
3) ibid. 215.
4) ibid. 223.
5) ibid. 221.
6) ibid. 222.

business and wealth, that notwithstanding all this, the people of Amsterdam preserved their democratic character, their plainness of life, their good morals and their religious spirit.

The extravagances of luxury, irreligious life and loose morals, which so often in history weakened and at last ruined the inner life of the great centers of business and civilization, was checked at Amsterdam by the earnest spirit of the Reformation and the long lasting struggle for the independence of the country, so that even till in our present time the deep religious spirit of the Reformation is still alive in Amsterdam perhaps more than in any other city and it is a proverb in Holland that *in Amsterdam beats the heart of the Reformed people.*

Not less remarkable is the fact that Amsterdam, where the economical life prevailed so much, where business and trade seemed to occupy the whole life, nevertheless became one of the best centers of sciences and art. The city of undescribable business of world trade and of accumulated wealth, the city of religious life, became the city of *Rembrandt* and of *Vondel,* of *Plancius* and *Usselinx,* the city of *Hooft* and his *Muiden circle.*

It is often told that devotion to business and making of money leads to disappreciating of science, and to the supremacy of extravagant luxury. This may be often so, and certainly history gives us many examples that it really happened so, but the history of Amsterdam shows that such is not necessary, and that, if there is enough strength of character, of religious and moral spirit, there is no better opportunity for science and art than under the economical protection of men who, altho devoting themselves to business, nevertheless know how to preserve their higher aspirations and their finer taste for knowledge and beauty.

Finally the position of Amsterdam as the center not only of the Netherlands but of European and of the world's business and trade is so, that nobody can understand the sixteenth and seventeenth century unless he pays special attention to the Netherlands and to Amsterdam.

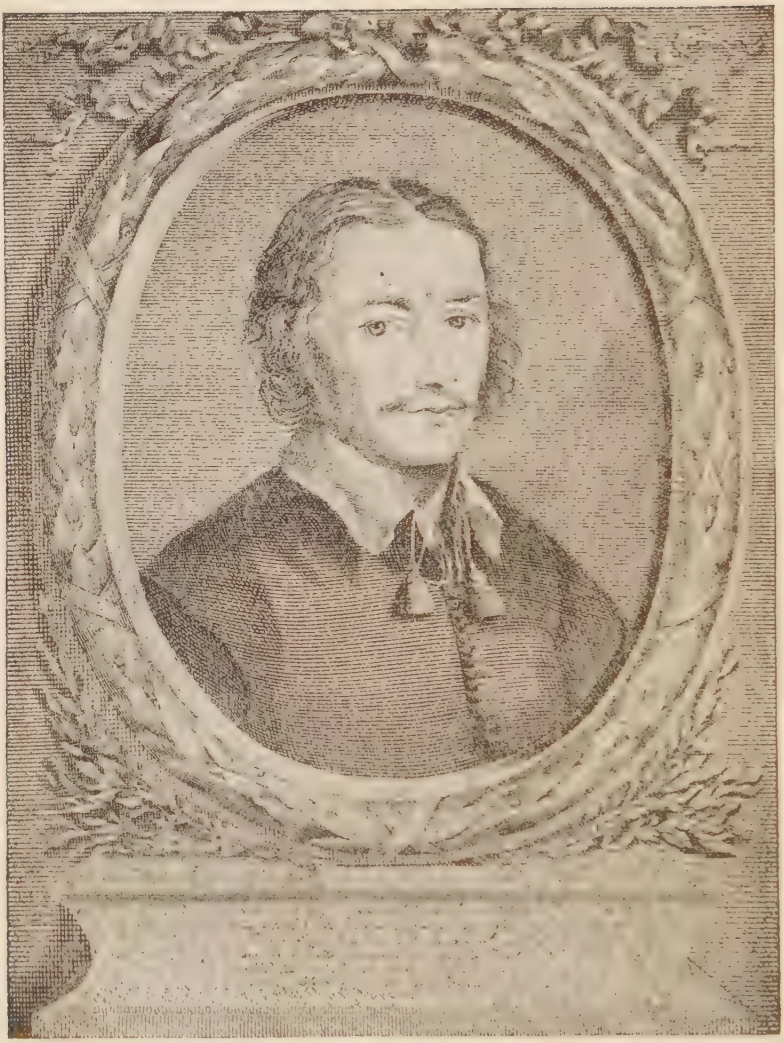
Narrow-minded, patriotistic feeling has brought many Englishmen in their natural jealousy to ignore and overlook the Netherlands and the result is, as in many other things, that they do not understand European history and that their

science of history is laughed at in every other country of Europe.

But as soon as historical research is taken up in earnestness, as is done for instance in Germany and here in America, the rise of Amsterdam always will be considered as one of the most important events in modern history and one of the most interesting subjects to understand the 16th and 17th century.

VII.

JACOB STEENDAM



JACOB STEENDAM.
THE FIRST POET IN AMERICA.

With the opening of a course in Dutch Literature we enter more especially into the field of Modern Philology and I know that both these expressions of *"Dutch Literature"* and of *"Modern Philology"* are apt enough to frighten the average American student, who seeks education and civilization, useful for the practice of his future life. I hear the objection: "What do we care for philology, that dry field of thousand questions about grammar and syntax, about the use of certain prepositions, about rhythm and rhyme, about the number of times in which one or the other word or expression occurs in some ancient or modern author, and so forth, a field at the head of which you may write the inscription above the gate of Dante's Inferno: "Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate." 1) "What do we care for such a part of that Modern Philology, which you call Dutch Literature, inseparably connected with the Dutch language, which is of so little use for Americans.

And indeed, ladies and gentlemen! if this is the doubtless meaning of the word Philology, and if the Dutch Literature has no value for those who do not understand the Dutch language, you are right.

But let me begin by saying that according to the ideas of the greatest philologists, a man who should waste his life just in trifling away all his time with such questions of grammar and syntax, without any higher idea of his task, should not even be worth the name of philologist, and that the man who thing of the literature of any nation in the world. Just of the language in which it is written does not understand anything of the literature of whatever nation in the world. Just allow me first of all to explain with a few words both these expressions of *"Philology"* and of *"a national literature."*

As far as Philology is concerned I begin with the humble confession that all the philologists of the world together have not yet come as far as being able to give you a generally accept-

1) "All hope abandon ye, who enter here."

ed meaning of the word Philology and this confession does not concern some trifles but the main idea and the whole conception of Philology. It is with Philology as the French economist Charles Gide confesses about economy when he says. "It may appear strange at the beginning of a treatise on political economy which is perhaps the hundredth which has been written on the subject to declare that a precise definition of political economy has still to be found." 1)

As for a generally accepted definition of Philology indeed we cannot yet boast of a perfect triumph of science and the only thing I can do for you at this moment is to tell you what some of the prominent philologists mean when they speak about Philology.

One of the greatest philologists of the world, *August Boeckh* (1785-1867) who died forty years ago, in his famous work, *Encylopadie der Philologischen Wissenschaften,* gives us six of the most prevailing ideas of what is understood by the term "philology." 1. The study of antiquity; 2. The study of languages; 3. Polyhistory; 4. Critics; 5. History of literature and 6, the study of humanity. Boeckh himself at last defines Philology as *"Erkenntnisz der Erkannten,"* identifying it with what he understood as being the study of History. 2) After these elaborate and deeply founded researches of Boeckh we find all the time still the most different conceptions of Philology, more or less agreeing with one of those already mentioned.

In *England* 3) Philology means the study of languages, as a hundred years ago the philosopher *Kant* had defined it. 4)

This idea in England, destitute of the philosophy of Kant and product of what they call the English practical tendency, is considered on the European continent as a superficial carelessness about the organic coherence of all human knowledge. Without this coherence the human mind finds no resting point and every science remains like a part of a chaos without order or system. Nevertheless this English idea has been brought over to America and will finally find its corrective only in the ever increasing and more and more appreciated influence of German philology.

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1) Charles Gide. Principles of Political Economy, p. 1.
2) August Boeck. Encyclopaedie der Philogischen Wissenschaften, p. 3-34.
3) Otto Immisch. Wie studiert man classische Philologie? p. 22. "Mann merke sich beilaufig dasz in England von **classical scholarship** gesprochen wird, wahrend Philology daselbst merkwurdigerweise mehr den sinn von Sprachwissenschaft hat."
4) Immanuel Kant. Logic. Einl VI. quoted by Boeck.

According to *Otto Immish* 1) there is such a close connection betwen History and Philology that one might ask if there is any difference between the two expressions; *Herman Usener* 2) makes Philology a part of the study of History and he considers the philologists rather as pioneers of the historians. In our days the Dutch philologist *Jan Woltjer* 3) and the well known scholar and statesman *Abraham Kuyper* 4) continued the masterly efforts of Boeckh, correcting his ideas in some very important points. They start with defining first of all the general idea of science in answering the question: Who is the *subject* and what is the *object* of human science? The *subject,* they say, is not one man or the other, but all together and during all the ages of human life; it is the human race. *The object* is the universe, not as a chaos, but as a *cosmos,* as one great organism of which all the different parts hang together in an organic way. Consequently every department has to define its own special object as a part of the cosmos, and has to indicate how that part hangs together with all the other parts of the general object of human knowledge. Only in this way the human mind is able to master the great ideas of science and to make everybody, working in his special field, conscious that he is cooperating in the great scheme of science with the whole human race. This conception of science gives rest and quietness and confidence like the task of a soldier who, even in his most humble work, never loses out of sight the task and the idea of the great army in which he serves. Science is not agglomeration of knowledge but *"the logical sketch of the cosmos;"* it is *"the reflection of the cosmos in the human consciousness."* Along these lines approaching the division of the general object of science and to define the special object of research for every department, they follow the historical process of the different sciences, and as for Philology they come to the conclusion that in the word Philology the word *"Logos"* does not mean *"word"* or *"language,"* but *"the conscious life of man"* providing for the linguistic, historic and philosophical studies."

But however this may be and how little even the best philologists may agree in their conception of philology, we learn

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1) Immisch. ibid. p. 128. He speaks about "die gegenseitige Unentbehrlichkeit und Zusammengehorigkeit" of History and Philology.
2) Immisch, p. 113 and 125.
3) Jan Woltjer. The science of the logos. (In Dutch)
4) Abraham Kuyper. The organism of science. In his "Encyclopaedie," English translation, p. 56-228.

from all these definitions at least two things sufficient for our purpose on this moment. First, that the field of Philology represents something more than grammar and syntax, that it, outside of grammar and syntax, includes some of the most inspiring parts of human knowledge and some of the most sublime elements for higher education, as all agree that for instance the whole field of Literature belongs to it. And secondly that *History* and *Philology* and more especially *History* and *Literature* go hand in hand, that they are so closely connected that some say History and Philology, if well understood, are really the same (Boeckh); that others make History a part of Philology (Woltjer, Kuyper), that some philoologists say Philololgy is a part of History (Usener) and nearly all acknowledge that both History and Philology never can *be treated well without touching each other on nearly every* important point. So, when we enter the field of Dutch Literature in connection with Dutch History it is not only for the special reason that both belong to the field of Dutch institutions, but not less because in a general sense History and Literature go always hand in hand and neither of them can be thoroughly known without a thorough knowledge of the other.

Nobody can understand *the Literature* of a nation without knowing the great events in politics, in economics, in religion, in natural causes of climate and geographical situation, which cooperated in History to produce the national character. And on the other hand nobody can understand thoroughly a *National History* without studying that most characteristic expression of national life, we find in its Literature.

A nation's literature is one of the most beautiful expressions of national life in the different phases of its existence in history. And so, when I am going to introduce you into the field of Dutch literature, we will behold the life of the Dutch nation in its lyric songs, in its epic narratives, in its dramatic shows, in its religious hymns, in its didactic wisdom and in its war-songs from the thirteenth century when Dutch national life begins to express itself in literary form, till our present time. In this literature we will meet with a prevailing lyric softness and tenderness, hardly equaled in the literature of any other nation and sprung from those peaceful, quiet, industrious, patient, phlegmatic, domestic characteristics so often misunderstood and misinterpreted by some Anglo-Saxons who boast of their own roughness, of conquests and murder, o

brute force and robbery. We will meet with an individualism, and a spirit of democratic self-reliance and self-government, with an attachment to personal convictions, which nobody in the world can better understand than a true American; we will meet in this literature with all those wonderful characteristics by which the Dutch nation assumed and maintained for centuries a so prominent position in history.

So understood I venture to flatter myself that all of us may be reconciled with the idea of entering the field of Philology; that for everybody the close connection between History and Literature is clear and that nobody who really is interested in a nation's history, can think even for a moment that the literature of such a nation should not contain something interesting to know. Only one more question still remains and asks for some explanation, viz., can the Dutch literature by any means be interesting for us, if we do not know the Dutch language? And as most of us have no time to study that language what value has that literature for us? In answering this question I begin by saying, that certianly the literature of any nation is most enjoyed by those who know not a little but who know thoroughly the language in which it originally is written. But I must add immediately: Is there any scholar in the world who enjoys the famous masterpieces of several nations and who can pretend to know thoroughly all languages in which they were written? How many millions of people enjoy the literature of the bible, without knowing one word of the Hebrew and Greek languages in which Old and New Testaments originally were written. The language of a literature certainly is important but it is not the most important thing to be enjoyed. Language is only the vehicle of human thoughts and feelings, but is not those thoughts and feelings themselves. In every nation's literature we find those manifold utterances of the human soul, the descriptions of human feelings and passions, of virtues and vices, but the human soul is everywhere the source from which it springs and to which all literature speaks. The dramas of Sophocles, the epics of Homer and Vergil, the idyls and songs of Greece and Rome, the romances of King Arthur and King Charles, the song of the Nibelungs, Vondel's Lucifer, Dante's Divina Comedia and Goethe's Faust, they all are written every one of them in their own language, but their thoughts and passions, their feelings and wisdom, their heroism and martyrdom

speak to the human soul of all nations on the earth; they are re-echoed in every language and find their response in every human heart. And this is generally so well understood that we do not wonder at all when we find here in the University of Chicago a special professor 1) for general literature, forming a department of his own. But this Professor never thinks about teaching the general literature of all the nations in all the original languages in which they were written. And yet, his magnificent book on *the World's Literature* 2) shows us as a fact, more clearly than any argument, how we can enjoy the beauty of a nation's literature even without knowing its language. To enjoy the literature of many different nations in their own languages is a luxury that only a few can afford, but it should be lamentable indeed if only those few could profit of all the wonderful creations of genius produced in the literature of so many nations and if all the others—that is the great majority—had to miss the beautiful elements of higher education which there are in the masterpieces of the world's literature.

Nevertheless in behalf of the few who can afford the luxury of learning the Dutch language, I hope at any time to open a special course of four hours a week, but this is not necessary for those who just like to have at least an outline of Dutch literature.

In the present lecture I will try to give you an idea of a man, who, altho a true and typical Dutchman, nevertheless may be called an enthusiastic American of his time; a man whose life and work are part both of Dutch and of American life and literature and whom, as I hope to show you, we may call the first poet on North American soil. His name is *Jacob Steendam*.

Most of the information we have about the life of Jacob Steendam we owe to the researches of *Henry C. Murphy*, 3) ambassador of the United States to the Netherlands, who resided at the Hague about the year 1861 and *J. H. Innes* of New York, the well known author of the book entitled *New Amsterdam and its People*. From an article in *the Dutch general biography*, published by *Van der Aa* and from the researches of *Murphy* and *Innes*, we know that Jacob Steendam

1) Prof. Richard G. Moulton.
2) The complete title is: World Literature and its place in general culture. New York, 1911.
3) Henry C. Murphy. Jacob Steendam. A memoir of the first poet in New Netherland. The Hague, 1861.

was born in the year 1616 at Enkhuizen, one of the old and famous cities of the Zuyder Zee. When a boy the love of adventure was strong within him, as in so many a Dutch boy of that time and at an early age he went to Amsterdam where he soon entered the service of the West India Company. 1) But little is known respecting the position he occupied under that corporation, nor of his particular travels; when about twenty-five years of age however, he was sent in the interest of the company to the African coast of Guinea and was present at the taking of Fort Axen from the Portuguese in 1642, after which his duties detained him on the African coast till the year 1649, when he appears to have returned to Amsterdam. We know that at least from his twentieth year he began to write verses and in the year 1649 and 1650, when returned to his fatherland, he published a collection of them in three volumes and entitled *"Den Distelvink,"*—"The Thistle-finch" mostly lyrical poems, chiefly love songs and verses descriptive of his own personal experiences and spiritual and devotional poems, marked by a deeply religious feeling. Many of these verses are addressed to his close friend *Johannes Foullon,* who lived for years with him on the shores of Africa. Before the publishing of the Thistle-finch Steendam seems to have been married to *Sara de Rosschou,* whose praise he had sung in some of the verses of the last part of the Thistle-finch. 2) Born and educated in Europe and having resided for several years in Africa, he was now acquainted with two continents. Soon the time should come for Steendam to see a third continent, viz., America. About the year 1652 he arrived at New Amsterdam, but whether he was still in the employment of the West India Company is not known. 3) We know that he lived in New Amsterdam for at least eight years; that his residence was on the spot now indicated by No. 26 Stone Street, between Broad Street and Hanover Square; that he called himself a trader, and that he seems to have been a prosperous man as several mortgages to him appear upon the records during his sojourn in New Netherlands. 4) Steendam's ideas and descriptions of New Netherlands are especially valuable because he was able to compare everything he found there, as climate, nature and the whole situation of New Netherlands with what he personally had observed for

1) J. H. Innes. New Amsterdam and its People. New York, 1902, p. 132.
2) Innes, p. 136.
3) Ibid.
4) Ibid. 137.

many years in Europe and in Africa. And indeed he was enthusiastic about America. With a prophetic eye Steendam saw the great future of the New World and he poured his feelings out in three remarkable poems published successively in 1659, 1661 and 1662. After a sojourn of eight years Steendam returned to the Netherlands about the year 1660, stayed in his fatherland probably six years and then entered into the employment of the Dutch East India Company and in 1666 sailed from Amsterdam to Batavia the capital of the Dutch possessions in the East. At Batavia Steendam spent the remainder of his life, was for a time a comforter of the sick, a lower office in the Reformed Church of that time, and in the year 1668 he was chosen governor of the orphans house of the city, which office he held till his death in 1671. During the last years of his life he published another volume of his poems called *"Moral songs for the Batavian youth."* 1) After his death his wife continued in the supervision of the orphan's house. His two sons, Samuel and Jacob, and his daughter, Vredegond, were born and baptised at New Amsterdam. About his daughter Vredegond we know that when her mother died two years after the death of her father, she succeeded as governess of the orphans' house, but about the two sons of Steendam we miss every further information.

As for the character of Steendam, this is very different from what one should expect in a man who spent his life successively in the most different corners of the globe; who was born and educated in the Netherlands; lived seven years in Africa; then again for some years in Holland; eight years in New Netherland; again six years in his native country and who spent the last five years of his life at Batavia, on the isle of Java, between the two continents of Asia and Australia. From this we should expect him to have the most restless character in the world. Yet, nothing is less true than that. To travel in foreign countries and to visit even the most remote corners of the globe was nothing exceptional to a Dutchman of the seventeenth century. And indeed, everything we know about Steendam, his portrait, his poems, the witnesses of his friends, show altogether that his character was the most quiet and steadfast that can be imagined. His name Steendam signifies *stone-dam* and in allusion to his name he signed many of his poems with the pseudonym "Noch vaster,"

1) Ibid. 141.

i. e. *still firmer.* "In one sense, says Innes, Steendam's name and his favorite poetical pseudonym are particularly appropriate; there is one quality conspicuous all through his writings, and it is that of steadfastness. Some of his imagery is not of the most delicate description, and his phrases are occasionally prolix and involved; but the earnestness of the man so illuminates his work that one could be no more disposed seriously to criticise his verses than those of Wordsworth and Whittier." 1)

This steadfastness of Steendam was rooted in his firm religious conviction with which he adhered to the creed of the Dutch Reformed church. "His spiritual and devotional verses, says Innes, are marked by a deeply religious feeling, which was characteristic of the man and which was alluded to by the Dutch author Johan Nieuwhoff in his eulogistic lines upon Steendam:

His spirit's gifts divine, set forth in flowing song
Unto God's people give a harp, which charms the ear
With David's heavenly theme. His art, what song may praise?
The hymn of praise to God transcendeth all our lays." 2)

But with his love of adventures and his steadfastness of religious convictions, which made him quiet and confident wherever he might live in the world, he combined a great sympathy for the beauty of nature and this made him exceedingly enthusiastic about New Netherland. No author of his age gives us such an enthusiastic description of America and shows such a prophetic insight into the splendid future of this country than Steendam in his poems on New Netherland.

In a time when the Dutch West India Company was declining; when the attention of the Dutch people was attracted more by East India and by South America and New Netherland seems to be neglected, Steendam sang his *Complaint of New Amsterdam to her mother,* translated by Murphy as follows: 3)

THE COMPLAINT OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

I'm a grandchild of the Gods
Who on th' Amstel have abodes;
Whence their orders forth are sent,
Swift for aid and punishment.

1) Innes, p. 135.
2) Innes, p. 132.
3) Henry C. Murphy. Jacob Steendam, p. 23.

I, of Amsterdam, was born,
Early of her breasts forlorn;
From her care so quickly weaned
Oft have I my fate bemoaned.

From my youth up left alone,
Naught save hardship have I known;
Dangers have beset my way
From the first I saw the day.

Think you this a cause for marvel?
This will then the thread unravel,
And the circumstances trace,
Which upon my birth took place.

Would you ask for my descent?
Long the time was it I spent
In the loins of warlike Mars.
'T seems my mother, seized with fears,

Prematurely brought me forth,
But I now am very loth
To inform how this befel;
Thocgh 'twas thus, I know full well,

Bacchus, too—it is no dream—
First beheld the daylight's beam
From the thigh of Jupiter.
But my reasons go too far.

My own matter must I say,
And not loiter by the way
E'en though Bacchus oft has proven
Friend to me in my misfortune.

Now the midwife who received me;
Was Bellona; in suspense, she
Long did sit in trembling fear,
For the travail was severe.

From the moment I was born,
Indian Neighbors made me mourn.
They pursued me night and day,
While my mother kept away.

But my sponsors did supply
Better my necessity;
They sustained my feeble life;
They procured a bounteous wife

As my nurse, who did not spare
To my lips her paps to bare.
This was Ceres; freely she
Rendered what has nurtured me.

Her most dearly I will prize;
She has made my horns to rise;
Trained my growth through tender years,
'Midst my burdens and my cares.

True both simple 'twas, and scant,
What I had to feed my want.
Off't was naught except Sapawn 1)
And the flesh of buck or fawn.

When I thus began to grow,
No more care did they bestow.
Yet my breasts are full and neat,
And my hips are firmly set.

Neptune shows me his good will;
Merc'ry, quick, exerts his skill
Me t'adorn with silk and gold;
Whence I'm sought by suitors bold.

Stricken by my cheek's fresh bloom,
By my beautous youthful form,
They attempt to seize the treasure
To enjoy their wanton pleasure.

They, my orchards too, would plunder,
Truly 'tis a special wonder,
That a maid, with such a portion,
Does not suffer more misfortune:

For, I venture to proclaim,
No one can a maiden name,
Who with richer land is blessed
Than th' estate by me possessed.

See: two streams my garden bind,
From the East and North they wind—
Rivers pouring in the sea,
Rich in fish, beyond degree.

Milk and butter; fruits to eat
No one can enumerate;
Ev'ry vegtable known;
Grain the best that e'er was grown.

1) A pure Indian word, adopted by the colonists and still in use, meaning mush or boiled meal of maize. (Murphy)

All the blessings man e'er knew,
Here does Our Great Giver strew,
(And a climate ne'er more pure)
But for me—yet immature,

Fraught with danger, for the Swine 1)
Trample down these crops of mine;
Up-root, too, my choicest land;
Still and dumb, the while, I stand,

In the hope, my mother's arm
Will protect me from the harm,
She can succour my distress.
Now my wish, my sole request—

Is for men to till my land;
So I'll not in silence stand.
I have lab'rors almost none;
Let my household large become;

I'll my mother's kitchen furnish
With my knickknacks, with my surplus;
With tobacco, furs and grain;
So that Prussia she'll disdain.

The complaint of Steendam had no effect; five years later New Netherland was taken by the Duke of York in time of peace without any declaration of war to the Netherlands. This same duke of York in later years himself king of England under the name of James II, got the reward of his arbitrary dealings here and in England in being dethroned by William III, the stadholder of the Netherlands. Two years after *the complaint of New Amsterdam* Steendam published his famous poem *The praise of New Netherland*, a poem of seventy-two stanzas, each of four lines, and in which he shows how keen an observer of nature he was. The beauty of Manhattan and its environs, the Hudson and the East River, the fertility of the soil, the charms of woods, "not planted by the hands of man," the birds and all the other animals, the fishes and the plants, he sings of all of them and he was delighted in praising all he observed. As the poem is too long to be read here as a whole, I will just recite the last stanzas:

1) Alluding here to the danger of being taken by the English, which was threatened at that time, he called these enemies of his much beloved colony "swines." From this we see that the prejudices between the Dutch and the English did not come only from the English side.

THE PRAISE OF NEW NETHERLAND.

(The Last Stanzas)

You seem the masterpiece of nature's hand;
Whatever does with breath of life expand,
Or comes from out the sea, or thrives on land,
On you conferring.

And, in a country, fitted happily,
With creek and channel, river, brook and sea,
For every use of man. I make the plea,
Who can deny it?

A land for trade and navigation sought;
With harbors which the earth herself has wrought,
For aid to those who are in danger brought
And seek to fly it.

It is the land where milk and honey flow;
Where plants distilling perfume grow;
Where Aaron's rod with budding blossoms blow;
A very Eden.

Oh, happy land! while envy you invite,
You soar far over all you thus excite;
And conquer whom by chance you meet in fight;
May God protect you and

Defend and save you; peace and comfore give;
All strife and discord from your borders drive;
So Netherland your happiness perceive,
With joy and pleasure.

So labor may in peace its fruits consume;
And Christ's true Church fresh as the lily bloom—
Its mark in you irrevocably hewn,
Henceforth forever.

Rule, doctrine, covenants, all in accord
With His pure word is, of Lords, the Lord;
Where righteousness and truth may rest like broad
And solid pillars.

So may a city, house, or kingdom stand,
Which else have laid foundations in the sand,
And envy, pride, hate, lust, and violent hand,
Lurk in their cellars.

But you accept, O noblest land of all!
With thankfulness, His bounties liberal,
Who has a pleasure garden made your soil,
That you might render

Your children an inheritance fore'er,
Until the Seed of Woman reappear,
For our redemption. Welcome hour! Who'll dare
His coming t'hinder?

Only once more Steendam took his lyre to sing about New Netherland at the time when he himself had returned to Holland. Once more he tried to awaken the sympathy of his compatriots for the beautiful country on the other side of the ocean. As a title for his new poem he chose the name of *spurring-verses*, indicating therewith his purpose to spur his countrymen to explore and to colonize New Netherland. This poem is as follows:

SPURRING VERSES.

You poor, who know not how your living to obtain;
You rich, who use your mind to make prosperity 1)
Choose you New Netherland, which no one shall disdain;
Before your time and strength here fruitlessly are spent.
Here you in slavish labor others serve
There is a fertile soil to give abundant wage. 2)

New Netherland's the flow'r, the noblest of all lands;
With richest blessings crowned, where milk and honey flow;
By the most High of All, with doubly lib'ral hands
Endowed: yea filled up full, with what may thrive and grow.
The air, the earth, the sea, each pregnant with its gift
The needy, without trouble, from distress to uplift.

The birds obscure the sky, so numerous in their flight;
The animals roam wild, and flatten down the ground;
The fish swarm in the waters, and exclude the light;
The oysters there, than which none better can be found,
Are piled up, heap on heap, till islands they attain;
And vegetation clothes the forest, mead and plain.

You have a portion there which costs not pains or gold;
But if you labor give, then shall you also share
(With trust in Him who you from want does there uphold)
A rich reward, in time, for all your toil and care.
In cattle, grain and fruit, and every other thing;
Whereby you always have great cause His praise to sing.

What cleave you to your houses, towns and Fatherland?
Is God not over all? the heavens ever wide?

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1) This line was badly translated by Mr. Murphy and I ventured to give a better translation.

2) The last two lines Steendam wrote in Dutch as follows:
"Hier moet gij and'ren, om dienstbre arbeid troonen
Daer komt een gulle grond, u werck met woecher loonen."
Murphy translates these lines like this:
"There have you other ends, your labor to incite;
Your work, will generous soils, with usury, requite"
I have tried to give at least a better translation than that given by Murphy.

His blessings deck the earth—like bursting veins expand
In floods of treasures o'er, wherever you abide;
Which neither are to monarchies nor dukedoms bound,
They are as well in one, as other country found.

But there, a living view does always meet your eye
Of Eden, and the promised land of Jacob's seed;
Who would not, then, in such a formed community,
Desire to be a freeman; and the rights decreed,
To each and every one, by Amstel's burgher Lords,
'T enjoy? and treat with honor what their rule awards?

Communities the groundwork are of every state;
They first the hamlet, village and the city make;
From whence proceeds the commonwealth; whose members, great
Become, an interest in the common welfare take.
'T is no Utopia; it rests on principles,
Which, for true liberty, prescribes you settled rules.

You will not aliens, in those far lands appear;
As formerly, in Egypt, e'en was Israel.
Nor have you slavery nor tyranny to fear,
Since Joseph's eyes do see, and on the compass fall.
The civic Fathers who on th' Y, 1) perform their labors,
Are your protectors; and your countrymen are neighbors.

New Netherland's South River—second Amazon,
For you a pleasure garden on its banks concedes.
Choose you the Swanendael, where Osset, 2) had his throne,
Or any other spot your avocation needs
You have the choice of all; and you're left free to choose;
Keep the conditions well, and you have naught to lose.

Discard the base report, unworthy of your ear;
'Tis forged by ignorance and hate and jealous spite,
By those who are its authors, to bedim this fair
Bright morning sun before the laughing noonday light.
An accident may hinder, but not change the plan,
Whose gloss, take that away, you then may fairly scan.

'T was but an accident, which gives them stuff to slight
That land, which, as I know, no proper rival has;
In order from your purpose they may you affright,
Who there desire to live, before you thither pass.
'T is groundless, ev'ry one may easily perceive.
Who now neglects the chance, great treasures does he leave.

These verses show not only that Steendam had a great

1) The "Y" is the name of the harbor of Amsterdam.
2) Giller Osset or Hosset was the commander of the colony, which was sent out in 1630-1 to the Hoerekil or Swanendael, on the Delaware by Godyn, Van Renselaer, Bloemart, De Laet and David Fieberz de Vries, patrons under the West India Company. Murphy.

admiration for America, that he really loved the American country, but they show that he was a real poet. The concreteness, the emotion, the imagination, the feeling of sympathy, of love, is in every one of them notwithstanding some dry arguments as were unavoidable in the last poem. I know that the ideas about what is real poetry differ very much. I know that even some of the greatest poets in the world have been despised by a whole generation. I know that Steendam is not one of the world's great poets. But I know as well that in the literature of every nation there are some authors, generally recognized as poets, whose verses can hardly stand a comparison with those of Steendam. And if poetry is "the concrete and artistic expression of the human mind in emotional and rythmical language," then nobody can deny that Steendam was a real poet. No author of his time gives such a concrete and artistic expression of his love and enthusiasm for America as Steendam does. His imagination and his emotion is apparent in many of his poems. His verses are not destitute of some surprising energy and the artistic soft Dutch language of his poetry sometimes reminds us of Cats and even of Vondel. To discuss at length some of the best verses of Steendam, outside of those on New Netherland, I know it to be impossible in one lecture. Only one question is too interesting not to be spoken of with a few words, viz., in how far we may consider Steendam as the first poet of New Netherland as *Murphy* 1) does, or even as the first poet of North America as Innes 2) calls him. It is here not the question who made the first poem on American soil, but who was the first poet. This makes a great difference. Not everybody who makes incidentally a little poem is to be considered as a poet. Otherwise nearly all students and professors should be poets, as every one of them probably made some poem in a happy moment of his life. What makes a poet is not the composition of a couple of verses, as a pleasure trip in a foreign country, but the permanent and indomitable inclination to look at the world with the eye of imagination so that emotion is awakened in his heart. It is the inspiration, imagination and emotion returning at any time. It is the emotional

1) Murphy. Jacob Steendam. A memoir, p. 14.

2) Innes. New Amsterdam and its people, p. 130. By Murphy and Innes as well as in an article in Van der Aa's Biographical Dictionary, only the three volumes of the **Thistlefinch**, the **three poems on New Netherland** and the **moral songs for the Batavian** (or Dutch) **youth** are mentioned. In the descriptive catalogue of books on America of Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, 1872, p. 123-124, some more poems of Steendam are mentioned. But Muller was mistaken when he tells that Steendam was a minister of the church of New Amsterdam.

feeling with which he is born, which remains inseparable from his nature, which arouses his imagination as soon as he gets impressions, which never leaves him as long as he lives and which expresses itself in that rythmical breath of his life, that in the form of our language we call poetry. It is the ascending on the ladder of Jacob, connecting heaven and earth on which the angels of God are descending and ascending. It is the grasping of the eternal ideals of beauty and truth for our human life, sighing under corruption and sin. It is the endeavor to enter, like Dante, our Paradise under the guidance of the never forgotten ideals of our youth. It is the imaginative and emotional experience of the inspiring prospect of regaining a lost Paradise in which is the perfection of all beauty and the charms of all sympathy and love, that shines in our earthly life and throws a broken light on the depth of our deepest feelings. Not one of all our languages is rich enough to express adequately all the emotions awakening in the soul of a real poet and even the best of his poems we can only understand by the affinity and receptivity for the deeply hidden emotions of poetry in our own soul, which makes us fully feel and understand what in the words of the poem hardly could be indicated. As in the spring a bird is driven out by the impulse of her inner nature to seek a resting place for the building of her artistic nest, that satisfies her imagination as the highest need of her life and in which she soon rejoices with her hymns to heaven and earth, so, and in so much higher sense the real poet is driven out by the impulse of his nature as by an inborn energy to seek the rest of his soul in those artistic and rythmical forms for the imaginative world of his thoughts and emotions, which at last satisfy his inner needs and in which his heart may rejoice. We all admire the instinctive artistic work of our birds and our bees; we all enjoy the composition of real poetry and sometimes a spark of poetic energy may kindle for a moment our own souls to write a little poem, but that does not make poets of all of us. A poet is born from above, endowed with more than common sensibility for higher inspiration, so that imagination and emotion are to him as a second nature and he does not feel satisfied before he has expressed his emotions in a form in which he can communicate them to others, that is in poetry.

Now looking at a new society as that of America in the seventeenth century, we cannot put the standard of art and

literature so very high and we feel inclined to rejoice in every endeavor with gratitude. But we cannot acknowledge anybody as a real poet, unless there are at least the most elementary qualities of a real poet. And this gives us the criterion and the touch-stone.

Nobody will call *Richard Mather, Thomas Welde* and *John Eliot* poets on American soil only because they translated the Psalms. To call *George Sandys,* the treasurer of the colony of Virginia, a poet, because he is said to have occupied a portion of his time in preparing a translation of Ovid, is not less ridiculous. "As for the *Rev. William Morris,* who resided for a very short time in the Plymouth Colony soon after its foundation, his verses, says Innes, published after his return to England, about the year 1625, in the pedantic Latin of his day, and which he called "Nova Anglia," are to be looked upon more as a literary curiosity than anything else." 1) Nobody will in earnestness call him a real poet.

Only one author more is mentioned for having composed some verses in North America before Jacob Steendam, and that is Anna Bradstreet. Innes speaks about her poems as "abstractions;" 2) others find in her best poem entitled "*Contemplation*" a few stanzas which show genuine emotion, and do not hesitate to call her "the chief poetess of the colonial time." 3) I don't feel inclined to criticize the first effort of the fair sex in America to write poems especially because the question who was the first poetess is not identical with the question who was the first poet. If there is reason enough to do so, why should not the fair sex be given the honor and be acknowledged that the first poetess in America sung her *contemplation* before the first poet in the New World wrote his *Praise of New Netherland?*

Anyhow no real poet can be found in the history of North America before Jacob Steendam and if we gladly accept Anna Bradstreet as the first poetess, then one thing is certain that in the field of poetry America's first poet very far excels the first poetess. In the poems of Jacob Steendam we meet at first in history with the real American spirit, with the love and sympathy for the American country like that of the best American patriot in later days and for this reason his name will remain indelible in the annals of American History.

1) Innes. New Amsterdam and its People, p. 130.
2) Innes, p. 130.
3) William B. Cairns. Early American writers, p. 146.

VIII.

WASHINGTON IRVING

Washington Irving

DEDICATION

To the trustees and members of the Holland Society of New York, to the descendents of those first settlers who stood for liberty and toleration, for education and for representative government, for all those great principles which were and are and may remain the foundations of the American commonwealth, I dedicate the following pages with the firm conviction that, as long as there is any nobility of character in the American nation and any respect for what is really great in history, the traditions of those first settlers and founders of the most central part of the American colonies will be kept sacred more and more. The dust of Royalism and suppression—so often in history accompanied with the attempt to burlesque and to ridicule—falls off like the old foliage in autumn time; the indifference in matters of national history passes away like the barren winter; and the noble spirit of America, attractive like the virgin beauty of youth, comes forth and grows like the bewitching, tender splendor of nature in the spring, touching and influencing every soul with the inspiring poetry of heroism and martyrdom and with that wonderful devotion to the best ideals of humanity which we admire in the founders of New York city and New York state.

NIEUW AMSTERDAM
op t Eylant Manhattans.
A. Het Fort B. de Kerck C. de Windtmolen D. dese Vlagge wert op gehaelt als daer Schepen in de Haven komen. E. t'gevangen huys F. de H. Generaels huys G. t'Gerecht H. de Kaeck I. Compagnies Packhuys K. Studij Herberch

WASHINGTON IRVING
AND THE
DUTCH PEOPLE OF NEW YORK

It is now a hundred years ago since Washington Irving wrote his *History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker,* and his *Rip Van Winkle, a posthumous writing of Diedrich Knickerbocker;* a hundred years since this famous author attacked the Dutch people of New York with the sharp weapons of his humoristic ability. Irving's attack, masterly as it was, accomplished its purpose but too well; its effect was but too deeply felt by those whose ancestors were the victims of his reckless humor. 1) For a whole century Americans, old and young, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, have laughed at the plain, uncivilized, lazy, stupid and credulous Dutch people of the valleys in the Katskill mountains, a people so stupid that according to Irving, nearly all of them believed that the story of Rip Van Winkle, as he told it, really happened. What the Dutch people really were, however, and what they thought and said about this bold attack is now mostly forgotten; but Irving's attack, dressed in beautiful literary form, has inflicted as it were, a permanent wound, not so much because of that attack itself as because of the literary value of this product of genius in American literature. These writings have remained a permanent element in the education of the American people. Without any doubt it may be said that there are few pieces of literature more popular, more generally known in the United States than these two, and especially the Rip Van Winkle, which even in our present day is not only read by old and young, is not only represented by the best actors in theaters patronized by all classes of society; but is reproduced by

1) I know very well the common-place remark of those who say that Irving intended no harm to the Dutch people with his humor. But we would ask these people: "Do you think Irving would have made his own parents and his own ancestry the victims of such humor? And if not, why not?" They will perhaps answer, "Because his respect and his tender feeling withheld him from doing so." True enough! But for those who love the development of the American nation the ancestry of the Dutch in New York are probably more interesting and with more reason the subject of tender feelings and respect than the Tory ancestry of Irving. About the ancestors of English Tories in general see Daniel Defoe's poem, **The True Born Englishman.**

moving pictures and told even by the most simple schoolteachers in the remotest corners of the country. I may add that the way in which these tales are told is so masterly that—I do not say the learned and most highly educated—but at least the great mass of the people receives erroneous impressions of the typical national character of the old Dutch people in New York state which they can never forget, and the trustworthiness of which they never question. Even writers of American history have relied upon Irving for some of their facts, which have—sometimes unconsciously perhaps—influenced their descriptions of colonial days. 1)

These reasons have induced me to take those two writings of Irving and the conflict they brought about between this famous author and the Dutch people of New York as the special subject of the present lecture—a subject that appealed to me as an interesting matter of history, a pleasant subject of American literature and an opportunity for some critical observations. So it seems to me the most natural way of treating the subject, if I call your attention,

First. To the historical side of the question;

Secondly. To the literary point of view, from which we have to look at it; and

Finally. To some critical remarks that might arise from our investigation.

I. I will begin then with giving a short historical interpretation of the conflict, because nothing better than the history of the facts gives us the key for the literary appreciation and if necessary for some reasonable critical observations.

Washington Irving was the *son of an old Tory family.* According to his own nephew and biographer Pierre M. Irving, "His parents came from the opposite ends of Great Britain; his father from the Orkneys; his mother from Cornwall." 1) As early as the time of Robert Bruce in the beginning of the 14th century, the Irving family took as its device the holly with the motto, *sub solo sub umbra virens.* "The motto and the evergreen leaves, both having relations to his unchanging fidelity to his king in prosperity and adversity, in sunshine and shade,

1) J. H. Innes, in his **New Amsterdam and its People**, writing about Irving's **History of New York**, says: "Readers of such works are supposed, it is true, to bear in mind the fact that they are considering the humorous descriptions of non-existent characters; but when for any reason the work becomes almost a classic, as it were, of the literature of the country, the type therein portrayed passes insensibly in the popular mind into something like the embodiment of truth." Preface, 1.

1) Pierre M. Irving, The life and letters of Washington Irving. Revised and condensed, 3 vols. Philadelphia, 1873, I, 1.

have been arms of the family ever since." 1) One of his ancestors, Christopher Irving, was even the historiographer of Charles II. Hence we see, that the Irving family in their family tradition had nothing in common with that great majority of English speaking Americans, who came from the southern and southeastern districts of England, that great cradle of English Democracy from where the Dissenters, the Baptists, the Congregationalists and the Puritans came to America; nothing in common with all those English sons of liberty, who were to fight the battle for liberty and independence. In full accordance with this family tradition was the attitude of the Irvings during the American Revolutionary war. The Revolution was an uneasy and troublesome period for the Tories; they scarcely knew what attitude to assume. Irving's father was at that time a merchant in New York city, but he *did not take up arms with the sons of liberty* to sustain the American cause. The only thing his nephew and biographer has to say in vindication of Irving's father and mother during this period, is that they were kind to the Americans who were taken prisoners by the English. And when the English had to evacuate New York, Irving's father obtained a certificate of one of the prisoners, a Presbyterian minister, testifying that he "appeared to be friendly inclined to the liberties of the United States and greatly lamented the egregious barbarities practiced by her enemies on the unhappy sons of liberty, that unhappily fell in their power." 2) How this same man, with such family traditions, with such a motto, this man who appeared only friendly inclined "to the American sons of liberty, came to give his son in the year 1783 the name of *George Washington,* is difficult to understand, unless we conclude that the father's business instincts saw in this move both a means of increasing his trade and of gaining the good will of his former political enemies. In thus conferring upon his child the name of the foremost American of his generation, he furnishes us a *typical example of a Tory conversion;* he adopts himself with ease to the changed circumstances and betrays a lack of courage in not standing up for his convictions.

Irving's bigrapher frankly tells us the real purpose of the giving of his name. Literally, he says: "His name of Wash-

1) ibid. 2.
2) ibid. 6. This is the only thing the nephew-biographer tells about the behavior of the Tory family Irving during the Revoluntionary war, and, of course, we can understand this effort of the nephew to bring the family of his uncle-hero at least a little in favor of the American sons of Liberty.

intgon was the means of procuring him an early introduction to that illustrious personage when he came back to New York, then the seat of government, as President of the United States. A young Scotch maid servant of the family, struck with the enthusiasm which everywhere greeted his arrival, determined to present the child to his distinguished namesake. Accordingly she folowed him one morning into a shop and pointing to the lad, who had scarcely outgrown his virgin trousers: "Please your honor," said she, "here is a bairn was named after you." 1) Certainly the lowliest son of liberty who risked his life for the cause of Independence had a better right to name his child after George Washington than Irving had, but George Washington of course could not presume this, and placing his hand on the head of the little boy, gave him his blessing. Indeed we have reason to believe that, had the English gained the victory, Irving's father would have had the same reason to name his child after King George or Cornwallis, and in that case we would now be dealing not with Washington Irving but with George Irving or Cornwallis Irving.

In tracing further the education of the young Irving, we find that, when 21 years of age, he made a trip to Europe during the years 1804-1806. After his return to New York, in 1806, it is interesting to know in what kind of company, in *what circle of friends,* the young Irving lived in the years just before his writing of his History of New York, in order that we may know what ideals inspired him. Now his nephew and biographer does not leave us in doubt about this interesting point. About the life in New York city in those days he says that "New York was a handy city and offered great facilities of intercourse. No man could hide his light under a bushel. Everybody knew everybody and there was more of good fellowship and careless ease of manners than distinguish the social circles of either sex in these more formal times." 2) And after these general remarks he continues: "The literati and men of wit and intellect, among whom Irving lived—entered more into society, and gave to it something of their own tone and character. If the dinners were less costly than now, they were more merry, and there was greater heartiness of enjoyment. Singing—sentimental and bachanalian—was quite

1) ibid. 8. In how far his maid-servant acted by order of the Irving family the nephew and benevolent biographer does not tell.
2) ibid. 120.

a feature in the entertainment. Conviviality, however, it must be confessed, was sometimes pushed to an extreme; it was *almost treason against good fellowship not to get tipsy,* and the senseless custom of compelling guests to *drink bumpers,* not infrequently laid many under the table, who never would have been led willingly to such excess. Mr. Irving used to relate a piece of pleasantry of one of his early friends, Henry Ogden, illustrative of this feature of the dinners of those times. Ogden had been at one of these festive meetings on the evening before and had left with a brain half bewildered by the number of bumpers he had been compelled to drink. He told Irving the next day that in going home he had fallen through a grating, which had carelessly been left open, into a vault beneath. The solitude, he said, was rather dismal at first, but several others of the guests fell in, in the course of the evening, and they had on the whole quite a pleasant night of it." 1) Irving's nephew speaks of the *"madcap pranks and juvenile orgies"* of Washington Irving and his friends. Many years later at the age of sixty-six Washington Irving himself said to Governor Kemble in alluding to these scenes of high jollity: *"Who would have thought that we should ever have lived to be two such respectable old gentlemen!"* 2) Nevertheless it was in those very years that Irving was engaged in writing his History of New York, and ten years later he wrote his Rip Van Winkle, breathing the same spirit.

We are not surprised to find that Irving, living in such an atmosphere and inspired by the traditional Tory feelings of his family, was prejudiced against the Dutch people in New York state—and that he was prejudiced is clear from *his own confession* as well as from the spirit which pervades his entire book. Concerning Albany and the Dutch people living there he wrote in 1815, the year after publishing his History of New York: "You will smile, perhaps, when I tell you that in spite of all my former *prejudices and prepossessions,* I like this queer, old-fashioned place more and more, the longer I remain in it. I have somehow or other formed acquaintance with some of the good people and several of the little Juffrouws, and have even made my way and intrenched myself strongly in the parlors of several genuine Dutch families who *had declared utter hostility to me.*" 3) Thus we learn pretty

1) ibid. 121.
2) ibid. 122.
3) ibid. 181.

exactly, even before looking into the contents of his History of New York and his Rip Van Winkle, that Irving, at the time he wrote the history, was very little acquainted 1) with the Dutch people; that till after its publication he lived under prejudices and prepossessions against them because of not knowing them intimately enough; that he lived among friends whose spirit and ideals differed radically from those prevailing among the Dutch; and that his family—tradition certainly was not conducive to a better feeling towards the stubborn Dutch Democrats, sons of liberty and defenders of independence against all Royalism as they were. No one could reasonably expect that a young man of twenty-five years, living and writing under such circumstances, could treat so difficult a subject as the Dutch of New York without serious historical errors and misrepresentations; 2) we may rather be surprised that, though circumstances made him so utterly unfit to become an impartial observer and recorder of historical facts as to render his statements worthless, he has given us so much to enjoy from a literary point of view. All the best writers of the history of New York, Broadhead, O'Callaghan and others, agree that as real history Irving's History of New York *has no value at all.* Only too true, therefore, was the remark made by Mr. Verplanck on Dec. 7, 1818, in a lecture before the New York Historical Society. "It is painful," he said, "to see a mind as admirable for its exquisite perception of the beautiful as it is for its quick sense of the ridiculous, wasting the riches of its fancy on an ungrateful theme, and its exuberant humor on a coarse caricature." 3) To this remark Irving himself replied that Mr. Verplanck "said nothing of my work that I have not long thought of it myself." 4) And the characteristics which he ascribes to the Dutch in his Rip Van Winkle are not a whit more truthful and trustworthy, but are as coarse a caricature as that given in his history of New York. As regards the historical truth of the characteristics

1) When I say that Irving was very little acquainted with the Dutch in New York as he himself tells the same about those at Albany, I do not mean to say that Irving did not know the outward living and appearance of the Dutch, which he saw from his youth, but what I mean is this, that he did not know them **psychologically** and **historically** and this is the reason why he did not understand their real character, did not discover their national energy, so often shown in history. His knowledge of the Dutch was superficial and by far unsatisfactory for a young man who undertakes to describe their national character.

2) Even if for this reason alone the remark of J. H. Innes, in his **New Amsterdam and its People**, p. 1, is to the point: "It is perhaps unfortunate, in some respects, that Washington Irving chose to employ his great talents in writing the amusing Knickerbocker History of New York."

3) Quoted by Pierre M. Irving, 176.

4) Ibid. 177.

which Irving ascribes to the Dutch, we may indeed ask, was there not some reason for the righteous indignation aroused in the Dutch of New York by the publication of these offensive writings? Was there ever a time when the Dutch people have not shown themselves stanch defenders of their rights, of their liberties and their independence? 1) Is there any corner of the globe inhabited by the Dutch where they have not stood for education and civilization? Was it not in this very State of New York and in those valleys of the Hudson that our free public schools were first introduced by the Dutch people; was it not there that they fostered the system of education which is now the pride of every American citizen? 2) How could Irving have described them as he did, unless he were quite ignorant of their history and their real character, and inspired by prejudices? Still we can understand Irving's attack. The Revolution was a spirit of sore trial for the Tories; their social positions was completely changed, and their influence undermined. The sons of liberty had crushed out the Royalistic spirit in New York; most of their own countrymen had chosen sides against them, and had even risked their life to put an end to the intolerable arrogance of these upholders of Royalism. Brok-

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1) The broadmindedness and toleration of the Dutch in New York state is generally acknowledged, "In marked contrast with the religious intolerance of The New England colonists was the broad Christian liberality of the Dutch and Huguenots who laid the foundations of New York," Irving Elting. **Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson**, 63.

2) The **Johns Hopkins University** Studies in **Historical and Political Science**, 4th series, contains a historical study by Irving Elting of the **Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River**, Baltimore, 1886. As Washington Irving made these villages the scene of his Rip Van Winkle and ridiculed the stupidity of their inhabitants, it is interesting to note the results of real historical research as Elting gives them. "It should be especially noted," he says, "that in this earliest charter of 1629, notwithstanding its restrictions of civil liberties, the Dutch recognized the prime importance of establishing in their colony here the foundations of **religion** and **education**. So intimately were the two connected that, as Dr. Baird mentions in his **Huguenot Immigration to America** (Vol I, p. 185) in 1656 some colonists set sail for New Netherlands in three ships, one of which carried a schoolmaster who was to be also a comforter of the sick. As early as 1633, Everardus Bogardus, the first minister in New Amsterdam, and Adam Roelandsen, the schoolmaster, came over from Holland together." (Brodhead, p. 223) . . . . "The part which Dutch influence played in shaping the educational life of America has not been given the general recognition it deserves. Our free public school system, of which we are so justly proud, seems to have its beginning distinctly traceable to the earliest life of the Dutch colonies here in America, and to have had its prototype in "the free schools in which," says Dr. Storrs (**American Spirit and the Genesis of it**, p. 47) "Holland led the van of the world." Mr. Motley in a letter to the **St. Nicholas Society** (cited by Storrs) intimates that the New England colonists gained their educational impulses more from the Netherlands than from their own country. "It is very pleasant to reflect," he says, "that the New England pilgrims, during their residence in the glorious country of your ancestry, found already established there a system of schools which John of Nassau, the eldest brother of William the Silent, had recommended in these words: 'You must urge upon the State-General that they should establish free schools, where children of quality as well as of poor families, could be well and Christianly educated and brought up. This would be the greatest and most useful work you could ever accomplish for God and Christianity, and for the Netherlands themselves' . . . This was the feeling about popular education in the Netherlands during the 16th century." In New Amsterdam in 1647, the Nine Men approved arrangements "for finishing the Church and **re-organizing** the public schools." (Brodhead, p. 74—Elting, 14 and 15.

en down in spirit, deprived of their social position and standing, despised by the people at large, the Tories had to conform themselves to the new republican situation; they had to make what the French call *"bon mines a mauvais jeu,"* they had to show a smiling face in a position they abhorred; all their historical traditions were shattered, and for their consolation they sought relief in their own circle of friends by *making jokes* of everything and by *drinking their bumpers* as Irving's nephew describes them.

During the war of 1812 Washington Irving served as military secretary with the rank of colonel in the American army and shows himself a good American patriot. There was no more any organized Tory party. But, like in England itself, there was and remained among the English people in America, a two-fold spirit, one more aristocratic and conservative, the remainder of the old Tories, and another more democratic, the spirit of the sons of liberty. This antithesis did not disappear shortly after the Revolutionary war, but can be felt even till our present day. And we may certainly believe that in the years Irving wrote his *History of New York* and his *Rip Van Winkle,* the antithesis between the old Tory-spirit and the spirit of the English sons of liberty was still pretty lively and strong. A struggle like that between the Tories and the sons of liberty during the Revolutionary war left an antagonism behind for several years. In this antagonism of the English American patriots no doubt Irving stood at the side of the conservatives. His family traditions, the contents of his Knickerbocker writings, the great applauze he received from the Tories in England make this more than probable. 1) The spirit that speaks to us from Diedrich Knickerbocker's writings is the old spirit of arrogance of which *Daniel Defoe* wrote in his famous satire *The true born Englishmen*:

"These are the heroes that despise the Dutch."

However this may be, the idea itself to take the Dutch people as a subject of satire and humor, was from an English point of view, especially from that of the conservatives a very

1) A sudden change of deeply rooted sympathies and feelings does not happen very often. Closely connected with the love for parents and ancestors, their influence co-operates with their love from generation to generation.

happy one. 1) Everybody can easily understand that, when *the History of New York* and later *the Rip Van Winkle* came out the English Tories and the sons of liberty met each other with a smile and were reconciled in enjoying the newest outgrowth of the old prejudices against the Dutch. For the Tories, who were still looked at more or less as the old enemies of liberty and independence, it was a real relief, that they with all their English compatriots heartily could laugh at the stupid, lazy and despised Dutch people as Irving described them in his irresistible humor. 2)

So the English sons of liberty and the Dutch people, who a few years before had fought and suffered together in the battle against the Tories, now at once were separated by the powerful genius of Irving; the Dutch to be laughed at and the English to be reconciled with the Tories by the old prejudices. No wonder that he was applauded by all the Tories in England 3) and America, that he was received with kindness and admiration by the landlords, and honored even by the King of England with a gold medal as the great historian among the Americans. No wonder that Irving so easily admitted to Mr. Verplanck that from an historical piont of view his *History of New York with* Rip Van Winkle as its appendix was a coarse caricature. Of course he never intended to write anything else but just a coarse caricature. If he had made anything else of it, he would not have reached a tenth part of the success he now got. That this point of view is the only true one, Washington Irving shows himself by connecting so closely his History of New York with his Rip Van Winkle. As author of both he assumes the name of Diedrich Knickbocker, so that the Rip Van Winkle has to be looked at as an appendix of his history of New York. 4) Both writings bear the same character, that of the burlesque and the caricature. With the name Knickerbocker he emphasizes and announces what he revealed in it without any hesitation, viz., that he aimed at the Dutch

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1) Dr. Samuel Mitchell's "Picture of New York" gave to Washington and his brother Peter the suggestion for the writing of the History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker. Peter Irving was suddenly called to Europe and consequently the work was left to Washington Irving. **Washington Irving. History of New York. The author's Apology, p. 1.**

2) With Irving this was not so much a result of intellectual calculation than rather an act of his feelings and of his humoristic intuition, inspired by the whole situation in which he felt himself living. Such is most of the time the case with the finest pieces of biting irony or satire in literature.

3) The Sketchbook as a whole was first published not in America but in England.

4) Speaking about Rip Van Winkle, Irving called this a "creeping out in a new edition" of Diedrich Knickerbocker. **Life of W. Irving I, 77.**

people and that he wished nobody of his readers to be in doubt about that.

And never a man had greater success. What General Cornwallis and all the English armies could not perform, Washington Irving did, by his literary genius. He defeated the spirit of the English sons of liberty by his burlesque humor so that they forgot all their struggle and their sufferings from the Royalists and met the Tories with a smile; he defeated the Dutch by his coarse caricature of their national character, confident as he was in the general ignorance of his countrymen as far as Dutch history and the real character of the Dutch people was concerned. For the superficial readers—and these are the great majority—he defeated only the Dutch; but *really* he defeated the English sons of liberty as well as the Dutch; he defeated the real American spirit in behalf of the spirit of the Tories. Not often in history was a more splendid victory gained by a literary work.

Another question, as far as the historical point of view is concerned, is in how far the famous tale of Rip Van Winkle is a new story created by the genius of Irving. Is indeed this beautiful story a masterpiece of Irving's imagination, as he generally is given credit for it? I am sorry indeed that I am obliged to say that after my research, I cannot any longer give credit for it to Washington Irving. The plain result of what I found about it is this, that the first foundation of the tale is to be found in *ancient Greece*, that the full tale with all its essential details is the creation of *Desiderius Erasmus* and that Irving's Rip Van Winkle is only an imitation and a new application of what Erasmus wrote in the year 1496, more than 300 years before Irving published his sketchbook. It is interesting to read the story as we find it *in embryo* among the Greeks and described by Diogenes Laertius; 1) *in its full development* with Erasmus 2) and *in its imitation* with Washington Irving. 3) The name of Rip Van Winkle among the Greeks was Epimenides, an old-fashioned philosopher on the isle of Creta, about whom Diogenes Laertius tells us, that he was born in Creta, but because he let his hair grow long, he did not look like a Cretan. He once, when he was sent by his

1) Diogenes Laertius. The lives and opinions of eminent philosophers, literally translated by C. D. Yonge. London, 1853.

2) Desiderius Erasmus. Opus Epistolarum. Ed P. E. Allen. Oxford 1906, I, p. 190. Epistles of Erasmus translated into English by Francis Morgan Nichols. London and New York, 1901, p. 141.

3) Washington Irving. Sketchbook. Chapter on Rip Van Winkle.

father into the fields to look for a sheep, turned out of the road at midday, lay down in a certain cave, fell asleep, and slept there fifty-seven years, and after that, when he awoke, he went on looking for the sheep, thinking that he had been taking a short nap; but as he could not find it, he went on to the field and there he found everything changed, and the estate in another person's possession, and so he came back again to the city in great perplexity and as he was gong into his own house he met some people who asked him who he was, until at last he found his younger brother who had now become an old man and from him he learnt all the truth.

I called this the Rip Van Winkle *in embryo,* because, without knowing the further development of the tale in history, we hardly are enabled to recognize in it the real Rip Van Winkle. But the central point of attraction for the popular mind is already there. The man who went into the fields, who fell asleep and slept several years; who awoke and thinks himself to have taken only a nap; who is utmost surprised by finding everything strange around him and in his native place and at last is recognized by a man who has grown old in the meantime and further that he is a popular figure after that time among the people, that all is already in the tale as related by Diogenes Laertius.

Nearly two thousand years later the humoristic eye of *Desiderius Erasmus* of Rotterdam, living from 1467 till 1536, fell on the story of Epimenides. It was a subject just apt for the author of the "Praise of Folly." In more than one place Erasmus speaks about it, and we can just understand that he could not get loose of such a subject before he had made of it a use, worth his literary and humoristic abilities. At last he got at the right point, and the composition of the real Rip Van Winkle was resolved on and soon performed. For the easy comparison of Erasmus' tale written in the year 1496 and the tale of Washington Irving in 1819, I will analyze that of Erasmus in the following essential points comparing it with that of Irving:

1. Erasmus saw before him a class of people, which he did not like at all, whom he considered as backward and stupid, and who became to such a degree the subject of his humor that at last he took the story of Epimenides, the man who slept 57 years as a true image and model to characterize the whole class. Those people were the Scotist theologians of his days,

who did not live with the modern spirit of their time and who "fancied their minds to be most active when they were soundly asleep." "I only wished to have a joke," he says, "at the expense of certain theologists of the present generation, whose brains are rotten, their language barbarous, their apprehension dull, their learning thorny, their manners rude, their life a mere scene of hyprocrisy and their hearts as black as they can be." I think Erasmus' idea about that class of theologians looks pretty near the same as that which the Tories and Washington Irving had of the Dutch people as we know from his History of New York and his Rip Van Winkle. *The whole plan and conception* of the story of Erasmus is *the same* as that of Irving in using the tale of Epimenides or, as Irving calls him, Rip Van Winkle.

2. Erasmus tells us about his comical hero, that once he left his town for a stroll in the field "because there was nothing that pleased him at home." Irving tells us the same only adding that the cause, why nothing pleased him, was his termagant wife.

3. Erasmus tells that Epimenides wandered from the path, sought a resting-place suitable for meditation: "then as he was biting his nails and buried in deep thought about instants, quiddities and formalities, sleep crep over him."

The same Irving's Rip Van Winkle, with circumstances only a little more in accordance with the new situation in which the tale was to be used.

4. Erasmus tells that Epimenides, his Rip Van Winkle, slept 47 years. Now Diogenes Laertius tells that he slept 57 years. So Erasmus thought 47 years was enough for a theological sleep and Washington Irving contented himself by leaving his hero only thirty years in his Tory-made Dutch sleep. But the idea is the same in every edition of the tale and this idea is indeed the central point of the whole story, the special attraction around which everything else is grouped and upon which its popularity greatly depends.

5. At last awakened he does not know, that he has slept so long, then, says Erasmus, when he saw how changed was the whole face of the surrounding country by so great a lapse of time, the beds of rivers removed, woods here cut down and

1) It was a masterly thought, a real creation of genius to bring the long sleeping of Epimenides into connection with a class of people, which Erasmus considered as backward and stupid, and to do it in such a way as to make a pleasant tale of it. In this main point Irving could not and did not bring any new creative element in the Rip van Winkle.

there grown up, plains swelled into hills, hills sunk into plains, etc., the man began to doubt whether he was himself." The same in Irving's tale.

6. Then, as Erasmus tells us, "he goes back to his city and here he finds everything is new; he recognizes neither the walls, the streets, the money, nor the people themselves; dress, manners and speech all are changed." Every reader remembers the similar and corresponding description of the returning Rip Van Winkle as told by Irving.

7. At first, returning to his town or village as Irving calls the place, Erasmus tells that nobody recognizes him. "He addressed" says Erasmus, "every one he meets: Ho, friend, do you not think I am Epimenides? The other, supposing he has been made a fool of, replies: "Look for a stranger." The same idea of not being recognized at first and of trying to make himself known, we find with Irving.

8. With Erasmus Epimenides was "the laughing-stock of the town" before he was recognized, and the same element of the story we find in Irving's tale.

9. With Erasmus at last Epimenides "falls in with some companions," very old men, by whom he is recognized, just as Irving tells in his story.

10. With Erasmus, the awakening hero doubts his own identity saying "that he began to doubt whether he was him-

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1) In a foot note on the last page of Rip Van Winkle Washington Irving says: "The foregoing tale, one would suspect, had been suggested to Mr. Knickerbocker by a little German superstition about the Emperor Frederick der Rothbart and the Kypphauser mountain," but Knickerbocker denied this. When reading this, I at first thought that in these lines Irving in his humoristic way would make his readers believe, that he was so honest as to tell, that his tale of Rip Van Winkle was not an original one of himself, but that he used for it the tale of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. But after I found out how little this tale of the Emperor Frederick had to do with the essential story of Rip Van Winkle and then discovered how exactly all its essentials were found in the tale of Erasmus, I hardly knew what to think about Irving's worthless footnote on Frederick der Rothbart. For those, who do not know the tale of Frederick the Emperor, I mention that the German Emperor Frederick on June 10, 1190 in the third crusade was drowned in the river Calicadnus in Cilicia. The German people found in this Emperor such an ideal, that in German poetry the tale was born that Frederick really was not dead but only slept in the Kypphauser mountain near a stone table, through which his beard had grown, and that one time he should awake to restore the glory and the splendor of the German empire. The modern German historians now nearly all say that this deeply longing of the German people at last has been fulfilled and satisfied in the new German empire of our present time. See the text books of German History of **L. Stacke I, 501; Bruno Gebhardt I, 415; David Muller, 137.** The only thing this tale has in common with the Epimenides or with Rip Van Winkle is this: that here is also a man who sleeps a long time without being dead, although supposed to be dead, that is all. Why Irving calls our attention to this tale of the Emperor Frederick, while not mentioning even with one word the story of Epimenides as told by Erasmus is a point that touches too much the character of our beloved young author to be decided with a few words. I rather leave the fact as a fact without any further explanation. Probably Irving knew the ballad of Frederick der Rothbart as it was published by Friedrich Ruckert in the year 1813, of which I give a reprint in German adding an English translation in the Appendix No. IV in order that everybody may acknowledge that nobody in the world would have supposed that the Rip Van Winkle had any connection whatever with this tale.

self." The same in Irving's story; only his Rip Van Winkle doubts a little later: viz., after he had tried to make himself known, when Irving writes: "He doubted his own identity and whether he was himself or another man."

These ten points as everybody will agree, are really the essential points of the story. Washington Irving has worked out the tale more elaborately; he has made from a short sermon a long one; but that common-novel-broadness, the detail descriptions, and interpolations of what "Rip thought" and "Rip said" do not touch the heart of the story nor the creative and imaginative power of what is considered by all the world as *the conception* and *architecture of the story*. A few days after I saw for the first time this surprising likeness of the story as told by Erasmus and by Irving, I read one day an announcement before a moving picture theater in great characters: *"Rip Van Winkle."* I thought for a moment and resolved to see, what really should be shown of the story in order to know what people in general considered as the essential part of Rip Van Winkle, and I stepped right in. Hardly could I imagine that I should see anything else than what I expected. And still I felt surprised that just the same essential part, that I found in both representations of the tale, exactly was brought on the canvas. They could have announced as well: *"The Epimenides of Desiderius Erasmus."*

Now looking at this analysis of ten striking points of similarity, notwithstanding the difference of circumstances under which Erasmus lived in the 16th and Washington Irving in the 19th century, I must confess that I think Washington Irving has purloined the story from Erasmus, without mentioning it with a single word. But in order that everybody may judge for himself, I will give a literal reprint of the story, *first* as told by Diogenes Laertius, *secondly* as told by Erasmus in Latin with an English translation added and in the *third place* as told by Irving in his Sketchbook. 1)

II. After these historical remarks I come to the second

1) That Irving should not have been acquainted with "Erasmus letters" in which the tale is to be found can hardly be believed, since Erasmus by his intimate friend Thomas More and many others in England was well known and many editions of his letters has been spread over all Europe. From a physchological point of view the author of **The Praise of Folly** must have been a great attraction for a character like that of Washington Irving with such an open eye for the humoristic side of life. Even the letter in which Erasmus tells the story of Epimenides is written to an Englishman, a pupil of Erasmus by the name of Thomas Grey. Nobody can suppose that Irving should have been such a stranger in the European literature that he did not know the works of Erasmus.

point, viz., the appreciation of Irving's History of New York and his Rip Van Winkle from a literary point of view. In general I must confess, and I know that this is a question of personal taste, that there is no author in American literature and only few among all the richness of English literature whose works I better enjoy than some of the masterpieces of Washington Irving. His description of English rural life, his Alhambra, some parts of his lives of Columbus and of Washington have been for me the subject of unbroken admiration and of so much sympathy with so wonderful a literary genius, that I never can help reading them again and again. But with Diedrich Knickerbocker's History of New York and his posthumus writing Rip Van Winkle I had from the beginning another feeling. I could not help laughing many times while reading through these pages and still I felt an element in it, that was shocking to my most tender feelings and which threw again and again a shadow on those writings and even on their author. The first thing I thought was that it certainly must be my own fault and perhaps the influence of my Dutch blood, that I could not suffer a hearty joke at the people of my own nationality and so I resolved to fight and conquer such childish and narrow-minded national touchiness. But I could not fight and conquer the truth in history and the recognition of the radically untrue characteristics given of a people, noble and great in history, throughout these writings. I knew that Knickerbocker's History of New York was very popular and favored by all the people in America and that especially Rip Van Winkle was the idol of the mass. Yet, the brute force of public opinion never was a great argument for my conviction, since history told me on so many pages that not always the voice of the mass is the voice of God. Without agreeing exactly with Horace, in his well known *"odi profanum vulgus et arceo,"* still I knew too well how often in history even the most absurb ideas of bigotry were favored and adhered to with the greatest enthusiasm by nearly the whole people in different countries on the globe. Still more unhappy and disappointed I felt, when I had to admit that the admirable tale of Rip Van Winkle in all its essential elements was not more than an imitation of what the genius of Erasmus had built up from the ancient tale of Epimenides, more than 300 years before Irving reproduced it and used it, under the influence of his confessed prejudices, to burlesque the character of a nation, for which

illustrious men like George Washington and John Adams had expressed their respect and their sympathy in words undoubtful and strong. But Washington Irving did not understand the Dutch national character and I can add that his misrepresentation of it was not only due to his prejudices. The Dutch nation, as history shows us, seems to be extremely fit for being misunderstood. A training of more than 2,000 years of fight and struggle against sea and climate gave to this people an enormous amount of energy and at the same time hides that energy behind an outward plainness of appearance that deceives the spectator. *A Spanish soldier* during the siege of the little Dutch city of Alkmar, which could not be taken by all the thousands of Spanish veterans, the best soldiers of that time in Europe, came, during one of the most heavy assaults, so far as to stand for a moment on the wall of the city and had the opportunity to look in the city to see the people that fought so bravely and desperately. The next moment he was thrown back from the wall and was so happy as to save his life notwithstanding that dangerous experiment. That soldier, when asked what he saw in the town, answered, that he was very much surprised that he did not see any soldiers at all in the town. He saw just plainly dressed citizens, laborers and fishermen, old poor people and boys, girls and women, and it was a puzzle for this Spanish veteran, accustomed to the splendid dress and brilliant swords which he thought the tokens of the best fighters, how those poor looking people could defeat the best trained armies of Europe. The same mistake of that Spanish soldier was made by Washington Irving and by many others in history. Irving even did not understand so much of the Dutch people as that soldier, for the latter was at least surprised by the brave defense of those plain citizens, but Irving thought himself wise enough simply to laugh at them and to describe them with qualities he thought fit for them. According to his ignorant and prejudiced imagination they were stupid and lazy and credulous and uncivilized. How different was the way Irving looked at those plain Dutch citizens and the way the world's history knows them. And still more different was the way for instance a genius as *Rembrandt* looked at them; and he knew them. Rembrandt as well saw the outward plainness of those Dutch people, but he saw in them just what surprised that Spanish soldier, viz., the Dutch civic guard defending their families and their homes, their rights and their

liberties. The Dutch civic guard immortalized by Rembrandt in one of the most splendid pictures of the world, in his Night Watch, the triumph of democracy, of liberty and independence. How plain, how poor, how vulgar is young Irving's caricature seen in the brilliant light, that Rembrandt's Night Watch throws upon that same kind of Dutch citizens. And still, although we know that Irving did not understand the Dutch people; although we know that he suffered under blinding prejudices, even that he had the intention of making a caricature, and that the essential and creative part of Rip Van Winkle was told three hundred years before, still we cannot help enjoying to read Diedrich Knickerbocker's History of New York and to read again and again the charming tale of old Rip Van Winkle, because in the way he performed them, we feel the touch of genius. We forgive young Irving easily all the sins of his youth, because we enjoy to see the rising of so brilliant a star at the horizon of American literature and because the scenes of Alhambra and Granada, the charms of English rural life, the bewitching pages of Columbus' and George Washington's life fill our hearts with love and respect for so splendid an example of American literary ability in the beginning of the nineteenth century. We know that it is *not the highest expression of art*, when *only* the touch of genius attracts our admiration and the choice as well as the treatment of the subject in more than one respect is a disappointment to our honest love for truth and to our most tender feelings for justice. But at the same time we realize that it is in literature like in the art of painting. There is only one Rembrandt, whose brilliant genius glitters as well in the honesty and in the love for truth and justice and in the observation of the real ideal when choosing his subjects, as in the unmatched performance of his conceptions with a masterly skill that arouses the bewildering admiration of all the world. To such a degree of highest perfection young Washington Irving certainly did not arrive, neither in his History of New York nor in his Rip Van Winkle. But we feel, when reading these endeavors of the young author and this is their irresistible charm, that overpowers us, that here is a rising genius on his way to fame like the strong and well-equipped tourist in the mountains, starting to reach in his best endeavors the highest top, leaving most of the travellers one after the other far behind him.

The young author in these masterpieces of literary art

paid his tribute of gratitude to the traditions of his family and his Tory-compatriots at the cost of the Dutch people, who themselves had neglected so long the history of their own ancestors, till it, in an unhappy moment, fell a prey to the burlesque and to what they called not without reason a coarse caricature. They never denied that this was in the first place their own fault and that it was Washington Irving's immortal merit, that he made his caricature a literary delight for all the world and a step on his own way to fame.

III. Now, having looked at the subject from an *historical* and from a *literary* point of view, I come to my *third* and last point, viz., to consider Irving's History of New York and his Rip Van Winkle in a few remarks from a *critical* point of view.

To a certain degree it is the most unpleasant thing I can think of to make an author so beloved to me, and, as I may hope, to all of us and whose marvelous works gave me so many happy moments in my leisure hours, to make such an author the subject of dry criticism and to attack a young genius for his faults, when making his first efforts. But it is not for our own sake nor for Irving's that some critical observations are most useful. American literature has not only its past and its present, but also its future, and if all of us have a heart as well for the future and the progress in literature as for the past we cannot proceed all the time only enjoying and without criticising, what has been performed in former ages.

My *first* remark is about the *"coarse caricature"* which the young Irving made of these two writings of the first period in his literary career. We certainly feel grateful for what the young author gave us in these two pieces of literary ability, but still we hardly can suppress the thought *how much more he could have given* us about so splendid a subject as the history and the character of the Dutch settlers in New York as it lay before him like an unexplored field just ripe for the energy of a young and powerful author; a field fertile above all expectations for the most beautiful results. If Irving, instead of hunting after premature results, had studied first the character of the Dutch people in the old country; if he had observed how

1) In the book entitled "Irvingiana," a memorial of Washington Irving, New York, 1860, p. VII, Mr. E. A. Duyckinck says: "The truth of the matter is, that the historians should have occupied the ground earlier if possible and not have given the first advantage to the humorist." We may add that probably the caricature of Irving has been a good stimulant for the great historical researches of Brodhead and O'Callaghan and the later historiographers of New York.

that national character from the times of Julius Ceasar developed in its permanent struggle against the elements of sea and climate to preserve an outward plainness as naturally as to obtain an unrivalled energy and patience; if his eye had seen, how that wonderful national character got an exponent in the most energetic struggle for liberty and independence during the sixteenth century and how these characteristics became the source of all the glory and splendor of the Dutch republic, in commerce and industry, in art and science; if he had studied enough to observe that all the power and the fame of that nation in history was just simply the outgrowth of that outward plainness and that hidden energy formed by so many centuries of hard experience and the most thrilling struggle and if he, well instructed by those great lessons of history *then* had looked at those plain living Dutch settlers in old New York and in the valleys of the Hudson, how much more would the eye of his genius have discovered than the coarse caricature with which he now contented himself. If not prevented by prejudices and if well prepared by historical studies he would have seen in those plain settlers the future magnificent development of the best Dutch families in New York and Albany, as he could see them, and as we now look at their splendid circles of the highest society of America; he would have seen in those circles nothing else than the natural development and outgrowth of those plainly looking first Dutch settlers, whom he now made the subject of his smile; he would have been surprised how the same qualities of that nation, that developed during the history of centuries in Europe so splendidly to their national greatness and fame, had just the same development on American soil, and how they came from the outward so plainly looking settlers to a rank of civilization, that could be rivalled but not exceeded. Irving knew some single facts of history, but he did not know the highways of history; the great lines, the true spirit, the most beautiful pages of history his eye did not see; he saw some single trees, but he did not see the majestic splendor of the woods and for this reason his description of the Dutch national character was a perfect failure. *His fault was not that he made a caricature.* We can heartily enjoy a caricature of any great statesman or artist and of any nation, of our nation and even of ourselves. But we like to recognize even in a caricature the greatness and the true character behind the veil of humor and of the ridi-

cule. Even in a caricature of an emperor we like at least to recognize the emperor, otherwise it is not a caricature at all. But Irving did not give us a caricature. Irving did as that boy who in order to make his father laugh at his picture of a horse, painted a cow with the subscription: *"this is a horse."* Irving used *only the names* of persons and places, dates and events in history to indicate that he aimed at the Dutch people with the purpose to make the world laugh at them. He forgot that *the picture of a cow is not a caricature of a horse.* And only prejudices and ignorance could accept it as such and did so. Irving forgot and did not see the soul and the character of the Dutch people and so he made a caricature of a kind of people without its soul and character, endowed only with the poor qualities, which his lack of historical knowledge and his superficialities enabled him to imagine. The way Irving treated the Dutch people was much like the way before and in his time the *English authors treated the Americans.* Irving himself was not at all contented with the humor and satire of the English writers about the American people and in the same sketch-book in which he published his Rip Van Winkle, he makes a splendid complaint. "Nothing," he said, "is so easy and inviting as the retort of abuse and sarcasm but it is a paltry and unprofitable contest." 1) Nobody better than Irving knew by experience the truth of these words for this was just exactly what he did with the Dutch people.

My *second* remark concerns *the prejudices* between the

1) Washington Irving. Sketchbook. Chapter on English writers on America. "A burlesque history of New York," says J. H. Innes, "does not seem to be called for per se any more than a burlesque history of Plymouth Colony and the presentation of a fictitious type of the colonists of the former is calculated to work the same sort of inconveniences as would the selection for example of Colonel Pride or of Praise-God Barebones as a type of the latter." **New Amsterdam and its People, p. 1.** Why is the difference so great between the inspiration of Longfellow in writing his Courtship of Miles Standish, in which he preserved the sacred traditions of the Pilgrims and that of Irving in writing his History of New York. Is there anybody who does not prefer the way Longfellow treats the first history of America above that of Irving? Everybody feels the high value of the manner in which Longfellow treated the sacred traditions, for the education and the future spirit of the American people. If Irving had felt one single breath of that inspiration and of that responsibility, how he should have despised his own treatment of the sacred traditions of such an important part of this country as New York city and state. His genius certainly was apt for higher and better things and the reason why his spirit sunk down to the burlesque, I have tried to explain in these pages. And yet, even the way in which Longfellow, in behalf of his own ancestors John Alden and Priscilla, treats a man like Miles Standish, the man of noble birth and of noble character; the energetic soldier, trained in the school of Prince Maurice, at that time the best training school in all Europe; the man, who left his native country because he suffered injustice; who devoted himself to the cause of justice and liberty, at first in the Netherlands later in Plymouth colony; the man who sacrificed himself for the cause of the Pilgrims, a cause which even was not his own, as far as he did not belong to their church; even the way in which Longfellow treats this noble hero in history does neither satisfy our feeling for justice nor our sympathy for so exceptional high standing heroism and devotion. But in general Longfellow felt at least the respect of sacred traditions, Irving did neither feel nor understand that such traditions are not to be the theme for the burlesque and the ridicule of posterity.

two nationalities of England and Holland, of which these early writings of Irving bear the characteristics and which they had the effect to enlarge instead of taking them away.

Now the question of prejudices and antagonism between the people of different nationalities in the great American commonwealth is a delicate one. Every good citizen of the United States will agree with me, when I say that all those prejudices among the American people have to be considered as contraband; that the real American spirit has to conquer and to banish these vain causes of endless quarrels and that every true American has to stand not for one or the other European nationality, but for the colors of the American flag. If anybody can do something good for the American nation with the noble and good ideas and traditions of his own nationality, it is his duty to do so, but to arouse the antagonism, to break the union of the American spirit by fostering old prejudices, nobody can approve. And yet this was the first effect of Irving's History of New York and his Rip Van Winkle. The Dutch people of New York felt themselves despised and embittered, and the English, especially the Tories, smiled and laughed at the stupid and antiquated Dutch as Irving described them. The Dutch people called it a "scandalous story," a "satire and ridicule of their ancestors" and one lady in Albany for instance was so indignant against him that she vowed in an outburst of wrath that if she were a man she would horsewhip him. 1) On the contrary the English people laughed and smiled at the jokes and the pictures of the old Dutch nationality, and looking at the old antagonism between the two nations, we may freely say, that their smile was not always innocent humor inspired by sympathy. In England the joy was endless. Sir Walter Scott wrote to Irving that he read it to his wife and guests and that "their sides had been absolutely sore with laughing." 2)

Nothwithstanding its literary value, and the commonplace excuse for Irving, that he did not mean an attack on the Dutch, his work impressed on the people an idea about the character of the Dutch nationality, that was *unjust*, and this lasting and all the time working impression was not a joke but the serious effect of an attack, that was made in the form of a caricature. In a time when nothing was needed more

1) Pierre M. Irving. Life and Letters of Washington Irving I, p. 182.
2) ibid. 176.

for the American nation than spiritual union and good feeling between the sons of different nationalities, Irving aroused the old prejudices in a way that it is felt even in some text-books of American history till our present day. And this cannot be approved by saying, that it was only a joke, for the joke was only the medium by which he did real harm to the good feeling among the sons and daughters of the American nation. The permanent impression that a piece of literature makes on the consciousness of the people independent from the form in which literature is dressed, is a serious matter of public education. If that impression is not fostering the love for truth and honesty, it must be considered as doubtful, however attractive it may be in its outward form. If we recognize what the Romans called *Ridendo verum dicere* 1) as a serious possibility we have to recognize that there is as well a doubtful possibility in *Ridendo falsum dicere.* 2) And I fear no contradiction when I say that this last possibility we find in Irving's writings about the Dutch people in New York. I know that a smiling face has an easy introduction, but the more cautious we have to be with it, otherwise our honesty and truth becomes the victim of our benevolent humor and of our sympathy for a smiling face.

My *third* and last remark, from the critical point of view, is about the fact that Washington Irving *passes the tale of Rip Van Winkle off as his own original story* without telling with a single word that the story was told three hundred years before by Desiderius Erasmus, and, as far as I know, Irving is given credit for it now for more than hundred years. If you ask me: Can you really prove that Irving purloned this beautiful tale from Erasmus? I will answer you with asking you: If I publish one or the other exceptional story from Homer or Virgil, or one of the most famous ballads or legends in history, passing it off as my own creation, can you prove, that I purloined it? No sir, you cannot. The only thing you can prove is that the story was told long ago and that never before it happened that exactly the same tale was constructed by two different men who did not know anything of each other. But the probability is in many things, which we accept and which we cannot prove, so strong, that we do not hesitate to believe it. The tale of Epimenides or Rip Van Winkle, as

1) To say the truth in a joke.
2) To blame and despise in a joke.

Erasmus created it or as Irving imitates it, is too remarkable in its whole conception and contains too many elements, found in both the representations to be believed to be twice constructed. Erasmus must have taken it from Irving or Irving from Erasmus. And as Erasmus lived unfortunately 300 years before Irving, we are compelled to believe that Irving indeed purloined the whole tale from Erasmus. And if so, what has to be our judgment about it. If Irving himself had told us in a footnote, that he found this story in the works of Erasmus, nobody ever should have made any complaint; everybody had admired the tale as a creation of the author of the Praise of Folly, and Irving was never given credit for it. But could Irving tell that he had taken the story from Erasmus without changing his whole plan and even without giving up the whole story? No sir, he could not. If he had told this, he could not have told, that the inhabitants of the Kaatskill valleys, the "old Dutch inhabitants almost universally," 1) believed that it really happened in their neighborhood and "gave it full credit;" he could in that case never have passed it off as a tale living in that neighborhood 2) and adequate to the stupidness of those people, which he made the subject of his humor. If he had confessed that he introduced the tale and took it from Erasmus and—O humor in history!—that he purloined it from a son of that Dutch nation, at whose stupidity he tried to make everybody laugh; if he had confessed that he aimed at the Dutch people like Erasmus aimed at the Scotist-theologians; if he had confessed that there was such intentional aim in his humor, a great part of its charm would have disappeared and the whole conception would have been a failure. In such triumph of his honesty he would have given up the whole story. A naked and shameless show of prejudices and ignorance even when dressed with the smile and the humor of Washington Irving should not have been accepted with sympathy. And yet, nobody better than Irving himself gives us the right to suppose that he indeed purloined the tale from Erasmus. In a footnote on the last page of his Rip Van Winkle he says that "one would suspect that the tale had been suggested to Mr. Knickerbocker by a little German superstition about the Emperor Frederick *derRothbart* and the Kypphauser mountain." Now in allowing and justifying such a suspicion

1) Washington Irving in his Rip Van Winkle.
2) ibid.

Irving indeed makes an important confession. The story of Frederick der Rothbart, as you can read it in the appendix of this lecture, has *only one point* 1) of comparison with the tale of Rip Van Winkle, while the story told by Erasmus contains not less than *ten points* of striking resemblance with Irving's Rip Van Winkle. And if Washington Irving justifies—as he really does—the suspicion that his Rip Van Winkle could have been suggested by the tale of Frederick den Rothbart, how much more must he justify our suspicion, that he purloined from the tale of Erasmus. He himself gives us here the full—I might say the tenfold right to suppose that his Rip Van Winkle is nothing but an imitation of Erasmus' tale about Epimenides and the Scotists. But suppose indeed that Irving purloined the story from Erasmus and passed it off as his own creation, did he make an earnest fault in doing so? To answer this question I remember what one time a doctor of philosophy said to me when we were talking about *plagiarism* or *theft of literary products.* He said: "I rather like to be robbed of all my furniture of my house and of all my books and money than to be robbed of the products of my literary labor. I can buy new furniture, my friends can give me some money or new books, but my literary products, nobody can give them to me; they are part of myself; for them I have studied and lived my whole life; for them I have spent all my time and all my money, and when they take them away from me and put on them another man's name, I will feel as if murdered more than robbed." Now this certainly is pretty strong language, but nobody will deny that there is a great deal of truth in it, and the easy way in which often plagiariasm is treated among every nation in the world, certainly gives reason enough to warn our young men and ladies with literary ability, in whom we have to respect the authors of our future national literature, to keep themselves honest, clean and pure from such demoralizing and shameless habits. Our love and admiration for Washington Irving for his manifold treasures of literary beauty which his genius gave us to enjoy,

1) Even that one point has not what we can call a striking resemblance. The old Emperor was dead and later was supposed to be sleeping, while Rip Van Winkle or Epimenides was sleeping and later supposed to be dead.

It is interesting to read the opinion of Erasmus, whose portrait I saw in more than one hall of American Universities and in the homes of several American scholars, about literary pillage. We find his opinion in a letter written four months before his death, when complaining of some people who published some of his manuscript, which he had not destined for publicity, people who even published their own thoughts adorned with his name. He says: "But literary pillage is extenuated in reality with no better face than the tailors excuse a theft of cloth, the carriers a theft of wine, the millers of flour

never may seduce us to approve a so serious fault of his youth. Let us never forget that only his History of New York and his Rip Van Winkle were published as written by Diedrich Knickerbocker; all the other works of this pioneer of American literature were published as written by Washington Irving. He himself made the strong separation of these two pieces and all his other works, and I think he did it not without good reason.

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and other tradespeople find a special defence for what is done in their own trade". . . . "How others may feel, I do not know; but for my own part I should be more willing to put up, as I often have done, with a theft of money from my cash-box. And yet, those who do that are sent to the gallows and the other people are called men of literature. I think for my own part these literary persons deserve not to be hung but like Thurinus, to be suffocated with burned paper." **The Epistles of Erasmus** by Francis Morgan Nichols, London and New York, 1901. Introduction, p. 89.

APPENDIX I.

RIP VAN WINKLE IN EMBRYONE

VIZ.

LIFE OF EPIMENIDES.

BY DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

I. Epimenides, as Theopompus and many other writers tell us, was the son of a man named Phaedrus, but some call him the son of Dosiadas; and others of Agesarchus. He was a Cretan by birth, of the city of Gnossus; but because he let his hair grow long, he did not look like a Cretan.

II. He once, when he was sent by his father into the fields to look for a sheep, turned out of the road at mid-day and lay down in a certain cave and fell asleep, and slept there fifty-seven years; and after that, when he awoke, he went on looking for the sheep, thinking that he had been taking a short nap; but as he could not find it he went on to the field and there he found everything changed and the estate in another person's possession and so he came back again to the city in great perplexity, and as he was going into his own house he met some people who asked him who he was, until at last he found his younger brother who had now become an old man, and from him he learnt all the truth.

III. And when he was recognized he was considered by the Greeks as a person especially beloved by the Gods, on which account when the Athenians were afflicted by a plague, and the priestess of Delphi enjoined them to purify their city, they sent a ship and Micrias the son of Niceratus to Crete to invite Epimenides to Athens; and he, coming there in the forty-sixth Olympiad, purified the city and eradicated the plague for that time; he took some black sheep and some white ones and let them go wherever they chose, having ordered the attendants to follow them, and whenever any one of them lay down they were to sacrifice him to the God who was the patron of the spot, and so the evil was stayed; and owing to this, one may even now find in the different bor-

oughs of the Athenians altars without names which are a sort of memorial of the propitiation of the Gods that then took place. Some said that the cause of the plague was the pollution contracted by the city in the matter of Cylon, and that Epimenides pointed out to the Athenians how to get rid of it, and that in consequence they put to death two young men, Cratinus and Cesilius, and that thus the pestilence was put an end to.

III. And the Athenians passed a vote to give him a talent and a ship to convey him back to Crete, but he would not accept the money, but made a treaty of friendship and alliance between the Gnossians and Athenians.

IV. And not long after he had returned home he died, as Phlegon relates in his book on long-lived people, after he had lived a hundred and fifty-seven years; but as the Cretans report he had lived two hundred and ninety-nine; but as Xenophones, the Clophonian, states that he had heard it reported, he was a hundred and fifty-four years old when he died.

V. He wrote a poem of five thousand verses on the Generation and Theogony of the Cretes and Corylantes, and another poem of six thousand five hundred verses on the building of the Argo and the expedition of Jason to Colchis.

VI. He also wrote a treatise in prose on the Sacrifices in Crete, and the Cretan Constitution and on Minos and Rhodamanthus, occupying four thousand lines. Likewise he built at Athens the temple which is there dedicated to the venerable goddesses, as Lohon the Rugur says in his book on Poets; and he is said to have been the first person who purified houses and lands and who built temples.

VII. There are some people who assert that he did not sleep for the length of time that has been memtioned above, but that he was absent from his country for a considerable period, occupying himself with the anatomisation and examination of roots.

VIII. A letter of his is quoted, addressed to Solon, the lawgiver, in which he discusses the constitution which Minos gave the Cretans. But Demetrius the Magnatian, in his treatise on Poets and Prose writers of the same name as one another attempts to prove that the letter is a modern one, and is not written in the Cretan but in the Attic dialect, and the new Attic too.

IX. But I have also discovered another letter of his which runs thus:

Epimenides to Solon:

Be of good cheer, my friend: for if Pisistratus had imposed his laws on the Athenians, they being habituated to slavery and not accustomed to good laws previously, he would have maintained his dominion forever, succeeding easily in enslaving his fellow countrymen: but as it is, he is lording it over men who are no cowards, but who remember the precepts of Solon and are indignant at their bonds, and who will not endure the supremacy of a tyrant. But if Pisistratus does possess the city to-day, still I have no expectation that the supreme power will ever descend to his children. For it is impossible that men who have lived in freedom and in the enjoyment of most excellent laws should be slaves permanently; but as for yourself, do not you go wandering about at random, but come and visit me, for here there is no supreme ruler to be formidable to you; but if while you are wandering about any of the friends of Pisistratus might fall in with you I fear you might suffer some misfortune.

He then wrote thus—

X. But Demetrius says that some writers report that he used to receive food from the nymphs and keep it in a bullock's hoof; and that eating it in small quantities he never required any evacuations and was never seen eating. And Timaeus mentions him in his second book.

XI. Some authors say also that the Cretans sacrifice to him as a god, for they say that he was the wisest of men; and accordingly, that when he saw the poet Munychia, at Athens, he said that the Athenians did not know how many evils that place would bring on them: since, if they did, they would tear it to pieces with their teeth; and he said this a long time before the event to which he alluded. It is said also, that he at first called himself Aeacus; and that he foretold to the Lacedaemonians the defeat which they would suffer from the Arcadians; and that he pretended that he had lived several times. But Theopompus, in his Strange Stories says that when he was building the temple of the Nymphs, a voice burst from Heaven: "Oh! Epimenides, build this temple, not for the Nymphs, but for Jupiter." He also foretold to the Cretans the defeat of the Lacedaemonians by the Arcadians, as has

been said before. And indeed, they were beaten at Orchomenes.

XII. He pretended also, that he grew old rapidly, in the same number of days as he had been years asleep; at least so Theopompus says. But Mysonianus, in his Coincidences, says that the Cretans call him one of the Curetes. And the Lacedaemonians preserve his body among them in obedience to some oracle, as Losilius, the Lacedaemonian says.

XIII. There were also two other Epimenides, one the genealogist, the other the man who wrote a history of Rhodes in the Doric dialect.

DESIDERIUS. ERASMUS. ROTTERODAMUS
Qui Patriæ lumen, Qui noſtri gloria ſecli.
Ad Effigiem Iohannis Holbeinij Pictoris artificioſiſſimi, quod ipſius Erasmi teſtimonio ad Thomam Morum Angliæ Cancellarium perſcripto, longe ſibi ſimilius fuit, quam quod aō Alberto Durero ante depictum fuerat.
Obyt Basileæ. Ætatis ſuæ anno 70, 30 die Iulij Anno Domini 1536.
Andreas Stockius ſculpsit, 1628. Hn: excud Hagæ-Comit:

APPENDIX II.

RIP VAN WINKLE

FULLGROWN AND IN COMPLETE DEVELOPMENT

VIZ.

EPIMENIDES AND THE SCOTISTS

BY

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

(In Latin)

Paris, August, 1497.

To Thomas Grey.

Salve, candidissime Thoma. Quod pristinam scribendi consuetudinem dies iam aliquot intermisi, nihíl est quod metuas. Ut vere res est solliciti plena timoris, amor.

In amore nihil refrixi. Quid igitur inquies? Scribere dedidici. Quid accidit, quid factum est, ut Erasmus calamum amiserit? Rem oppido quam prodigiosam audies, sed veram. Ego ille vetus theologus, nuper Scotista esse coepi; quam rem ut superi bene vertant, tu quoquo debes apprecari, si mihi faves. Conterranei tui somniis (nam Scotum, ut olim fuit Homerus, a diversis regionibus certatim adoptatum, Angli potistimum sibi vindicant) adeo sumus immersi, ut vix ad Stentoris vocem videamur experrecturi. Itane, inquies, dormiens ista scribis? Siga Cebéle, tu. somnum theologicum haud quaquam sapis Multi dormientes non modo scribunt, verum et scortantur et inebriantur et sukophantousin. Multa fieri re ipsa comperio quae inexpertis nulla ratione persuaderi queant. Ego olim Epimendis somnum plusquam fabulam esse putavi; nunc nihil miror, quippe simile expertus. Hic tu, sat scio dicturus es. Quas, malum, mihi fabulas narras?

Quanquam prophanus es et a sacris theologiae adytis procul arcendus, tamen vide quantum te amem, cui rem tam arcanam aperiam.

Olim Epimenides quispiam fuit is qui scripsit Cretenses omnes mendaces, ipse Cretensis, neque quisquam tamen interim mentiens. Nec satis erat ad multam usque senectutem vixisse, quin et extincti pellis post multum tempus reperta est, literarum formulis notata. Eam quidam affirmant et hodiernis temporibus adseruari Lutecia in sacrosancto theologiae Scotisticae templo Sorbona, nec in minori haberi precio quam olim fuerit apud Cretenses diphtera, aut apud Romanos libri Sibyllini: siquidem ad hac oracula petere dicuntur, sicubi destituuntur syllogismis. Nec fas obtueri nisi qui quindecem annos totos M. N. titulum gesserit. Si quis alius ausit oculos prophanos intendere, continuo fit talpa caecior. Quot narro non esse naenias vel antiquissinum Graecorum proverbium arguit (to Epimenidion derma) quo rem abstrusam neque vulgo proferendam significabant. Quin et libros aedidit theologicos; nam theologiae professione potissinum fuit insignis etiamsi vates idem habitus est et poeta. In his eiusmodi syllogismorum modos nexuit, ut nec ipse unquam quiverit dissolvere; ea mysteria congessit, quae nunquam ipse fuerit intellecturus, nisi vates fuisset. Is fertur aliquando prodeambulandi gratia urbem egressus quod domi nihil non displiceret. Tanden specum quendam longissimo recessu subiit, sive frigus captans, iam aestu laborans, sive quietem quaerens, labore fatigatus; sive quod quia via aberrasset (nam aberrant et theologi) metueret ne nox in agris deprehensum feris obiiceret; sive quot vero proximum est locum captans ad cogitandum idoneum.

Illic ungues arrodenti multaque cominiscenti de instantibus, de quidditatibus, de formalitatibus, sommus obrepsit. Non crediturus es, scio, si dixero non fuisse experrectum ante vesperam postridianam, cum diutius dormiant etiam temulenti. Imo sommus ille theologicus productus est ut constanter ferunt autores, ad annum usque quadragesimum septimum; et hoc negant vacare mysterio, quod nec citius nec serius dormire desierit. O hominem mortuum inquies. Imo mihi praeclare videtur actum cum Epimenide qui vel sero ad sese redierit At plerique nostri temporis theologi nunquam expergiscuntur, et quum mandragorae indormiant, maxime vigilare sibi videntur. Sed ad Epimenidem expergiscentem revertamur.

Epergiscens igitur ubi somno conniventes oculos confricuisset; nondum sibi satis fidens vigilaret ne an somniaret, speluncam egressus est. Ibi cum cerneret totam circumiacentis

regionis faciem immutatam, videlicet tanto spatio annorum fluminum alveis alio translatis, sylvis alibi recisis, alibi enatis, campis in colles tumefactis, collibus in planademissis, quum et ipsum specus aditum muscus obsidens ac vepreta mutassent, coepit homo de seipso quoque dubitare. Adit urbem et hic nova omnia; non agnoscit moenia, non vias, non monetam, non homines ipsos; alius cultus alii ritus, alius sermo. Tanta est rerum humanarum volubilitas. Ut quisque erat obvius compellat "Heus tu, non tibi videor Epimenides?" Ille se rideri putans (es korakas) inquit "hospitem quaere." Ira ridiculus menses aliquot obambulat, donec in compotores quaere." Ita ridiculus menses aliquot obambulat, donec in compotores aliquot incideret iam admodum senes, ab his utcumque est agnitus. Sed age, mi Thoma, quid tu Epimenidem tot annos somniasse reris? Quid aliud quam has subtilissimas subtilitates quibus nunc se iactitant Scotidae? nam Ipimenidem in Scoto renatum vel deierare non dubitem. Quid si videres Erasmum inter sacros illos Scotistos (kechenota) sedentem e sublimi solio praelegente Gryllardo? Si cerneres frontem contractam, oculos stupentes vultum sollicitum? Alterum esse diceres Negant huius disciplinae mysteria percipi posse ab eo cui quicquam omnino commercii sit cum Musis aut cum Gratiis. Dediscendum est, si quid bonarum literarum attigeris; revomendum si quid hauseris ex Helicone. Adnitor pro virili ne quid Latine dicam ne quid venuste aut false: et videtur res procedere; spes est fore ut Erasmum agnoscant aliquàndo.

Quorsum autem haec inquies? Ne quid posthac expectes ab Erasmo quod pristina studia moresue sapiat, memor inter quos verser, inter quos cotidie sedeam; tu tibi alium congerronem quaere. Verum ne quid erres, mellitissime Grei nolim haec interpreteris in ipsam dicta theologiam quam, ut scis unice semper colui; sed in nostrae tempestatis theologastros quosdam iocari libuit, quorum cerebellis nihil putidius lingua nihil barbarius, ingenio nihil stupidius doctrina nihil spinosius, moribus nihil asperius vita nihil fucatius, oratione nihil virulentius, pectore nihil nigrius. Bene Vale,

Lutetiae Anno MCCCCXCIX

APPENDIX III.

RIP VAN WINKLE

FULLGROWN AND IN COMPLETE DEVELOPMENT

VIZ.

EPIMENIDES AND THE SCOTISTS

BY

DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

(Translated into English)

The interruption which has taken place for some days in my old habit of writing need not make you afraid, however true it may be that Love is full of anxious fear. It is not that my love has grown cold. What then, you will say; what has happened to make Erasmus drop his pen? You shall hear the cause, marvellous exceedingly and yet true. I, who have always been a primitive Theologian, have began of late to be a Scotist—a thing upon which you too, if you love me, should pray the blessing of Heaven. We are so immersed in the dreams of your compatriot—for Scotus, who, like Homer of old, has been adopted by divers competing countries, is especially claimed by the English as their own—that we seem as if we should scarcely wake up at the voice of Stentor. Then you will say you are writing this in your sleep. Hush, profane one! thou knowest nothing of theological slumber. There are many that in their sleep not only write, but slander and get drunk, and commit other indiscretions. And many things are done in reality, which the inexperienced could in no wise be made to believe. I used to think the sleep of Epimenides was the merest fable; now I do not wonder at it, having had myself a like experience. What on earth, you will say, are these stories you are telling me? Well, profane person as you are and not worthy of approaching the sacred precincts of Theology, you shall see, what favor I bear you in admitting you to such a secret.

There was once a man called Epimenides, the same who wrote that all Cretans are liars, being himself a Cretan and yet for the moment telling no lie. He lived to a great age, but this was not enough, for long after his death his skin was found with marks of letters on it. Some declare that it is preserved in these days in Paris in the Sorbonne, that Sacrosanct temple of Scotistic theology, and is in as high esteem as the Diphtera was of old among the Cretans, or the Sibyline books of Rome. For indeed they are said to go to it for oracles, whenever they are at a loss for Syllogisms, and no one is allowed to set eyes on it, unless he has borne the title of M. N. for full fifteen years. If any other person ventures to direct his profane glances towards it, he straightway becomes as blind as a mole. That what I am telling you is no mere song, is shown by that most ancient Greek proverb (The Epimenidean skin) by which they meant a thing abstruse and not to be communicated to the vulgar. Epimenides also published theological books, for he was most distinguished in the profession of theology; but prophet and poet have been held to be the same. In these works he puts together such knotty Syllogisms as not even he was able to untie, and compounded mysteries which he could never have understood himself, if he had not been a prophet.

He is said once upon a time to have gone out of his city to take a walk, being out of humour with everything at home. After a while he betook himself to a cavern which had a deep recess. This he may have done either because he suffered from the heat, or because he had lost his way (for Divines do this sometimes) and was afraid of being exposed by night to the wild beasts in the open country, or, as is most likely, merely to seek a suitable place for meditation. While he was biting his nails there, and making many discoveries about instances and quiddities and formalities, he was overcome with sleep. I know you will not believe me, if I tell you that he did not wake till the evening of the next day, though even drunkards sleep longer than that, But this theological slumber was prolonged as is constantly affirmed by authors, for forty-seven years, and they say that there is some mysterious meaning to his sleep ending at that time, neither sooner nor later. For my part I think Epimenides was uncommonly fortunate in coming to himself even so late as he did. Most divines of our time never wake at all; and when they sleep on mandragora,

they think themselves most awake. But to return to the waking of Epimenides. After he had risen and rubbed his eyes, being not quite sure whether he was awake or asleep, he walked out of the cave, and when he saw the whole appearance of the country altered, while the very entrance of the cavern was changed by the moss and briars that had grown over it, the man began to doubt his own identity. He goes into the city, where he finds every thing new. He addresses each person he meets: "Ho there! do you not recognize Epimenides?" The other thinks he is mocked, and bids him go to the devil or look out for a stranger. In this ridiculous way he walked about for several months, until he fell in with some old boon companions, by whom he was recognized.

But look now, my Thomas, what do you suppose Epimenides dreamed of, all those years? What else but those subtlest of subtleties of which the Scotists now make boast? For I am ready to swear that Epimenides came to life again in Scotus. What if you saw Erasmus sit gaping among those blessed Scotists, while Gryllard is lecturing from his lofty chair? If you observed his contracted brow, his staring eyes, his anxious face, you would say he was another man. They assert that the mysteries of this science cannot be comprehended by one who has any commerce at all with the Muses or the Graces. If you have touched good letters, you must unlearn what you have learnt; if you have drunk of Helicon, you must get rid of the draught. I do my best to speak nothing in true Latin, nothing elegant or witty, and I seem to make some progress. There is hope that they will acknowledge Erasmus some time or other. But what, you will say, is the upshot of all this? It is that you are not henceforth to expect anything from Erasmus that would savor of his ancient studies or character. Remembering amongst whom I live, with whom I daily sit, you must look out for another comrade.

Sweet Grey, do not mistake me. I would not have you construe this as directed against Theology itself, which, as you know, I have always regarded with special reverence. I have only amused myself in making game of some pseudo theologians of our time, whose brains are rotten, their language barbarous, their intellects dull, their learning a bed of thorns, their manners rough, their life hypocritical, their talk full of venom, and their hearts as black as ink. Farewell.

Paris. (1497).

APPENDIX IV.

RIP VAN WINKLE

IN IMITATION

BY WASHINGTON IRVING

A POSTHUMOUS WRITING OF DIEDRICH KNICKERBOCKER.

By Woden, God of Saxons,
From whence comes Wensday, that is Wodensday,
Truth is a thing that ever I will keep
Unto thylke day in which I creep into
My sepulchre.

—CARTWRIGHT.

Whoever has made a voyage up the Hudson, must remember the Kaatskill Mountains. They are a dismembered branch of the great Appalachian family, and are seen away to the west of the river, swelling up to a noble height, and lording it over the surrounding country. Every change of season, every change of weather, indeed every hour of the day, produces some change in the magical hues and shapes of these mountains; and they are regarded by all the good wives, far and near, as perfect barometers. When the weather is fair and settled, they are clothed in blue and purple, and print their bold outlines on the clear evening sky; but sometimes, when the rest of the landscape is cloudless, they will gather a hood of gray vapors about their summits, which, in the last rays of the setting sun, will glow and light up like a crown of glory.

At the foot of these fairy mountains, the voyager may have descried the light smoke curling up from a village, whose shingle roofs gleam among the trees, just where the blue tints of the upland melt away into the fresh green of the nearer landscape. It is a little village of great antiquity, having been founded by some of the Dutch colonists, in the early times of the province, just about the time of the beginning of the government of the good Peter Stuyvesant (may he rest in peace!)

and there were some of the houses of the original settlers standing within a few years, built of small yellow bricks brought from Holland, having latticed windows and gable fronts, surmounted with weathercocks.

In that same village, and in one of these very houses (which, to tell the precise truth, was sadly time-worn and weather beaten, there lived many years since, while the country was yet a province of Great Britain, a simple, good-natured fellow, of the name of Rip Van Winkle. He was a descendant of the Van Winkles who figured so gallantly in the chivalrous days of Peter Stuyvesant, and accompanied him to the siege of Fort Christina. He inherited, however, but little of the martial character of his ancestors. I have observed that he was a simple, good-natured man; he was moreover a kind neighbor, and an obedient henpecked husband. Indeed, to the latter circumstances might be owing that meekness of spirit which gained him such universal popularity; for those men are most apt to be obsequious and conciliating abroad, who are under the discipline of shrews at home. Their tempers, doubtless, are rendered pliant and malleable in the fiery furnace of domestic tribulation, and a curtain lecture is worth all the sermons in the world for teaching the virtues of patience and long-suffering. A termagant wife may, therefore, in some respects, be considered a tolerable blessing; and if so, Rip Van Winkle was thrice blessed.

Certain it is, that he was a great favorite among all the good wives of the village, who, as usual with the amiable sex, took his part in all family squabbles, and never failed, whenever they talked these matters over in their evening gossipings, to lay all the blame on Dame Van Winkle. The children of the village, too, would shout with joy whenever he approached. He assisted at their sports, made their playthings, taught them to fly kites and shoot marbles, and told them long stories of ghosts, witches, and Indians. Whenever he went dodging about the village, he was surrounded by a troop of them hanging on his skirts, clambering on his back, and playing a thousand tricks on him with impunity; and not a dog would bark at him throughout the neighborhood.

The great error in Rip's composition was an insuperable aversion to all kinds of profitable labor. It could not be from the want of assiduity or perseverance; for he would sit on a wet rock, with a rod as long and heavy as a Tartar's lance, and

fish all day without a murmur, even though he should not be encouraged by a single nibble. He would carry a fowling piece on his shoulder for hours together, trudging through woods and swamps, and up hill and down dale, to shoot a few squirrels or wild pigeons. He would never refuse to assist a neighbor, even in the roughest toil, and was a foremost man at all country frolics for husking Indian corn or building stone fences. The women of the village, too, used to employ him to run errands, and to do such odd jobs as their less obliging husbands would not do for them;—in a word, Rip was ready to attend to anybody's business but his own; but as to doing family duty, and keeping his farm in order, he found it impossible.

In fact he declared it was of no use to work on his farm; it was the most pestilent little piece of ground in the whole country; everything about it went wrong, and would go wrong in spite of him. His fences were continually falling to pieces; his cow would either go astray, or get among the cabbages; weeds were sure to grow quicker in his fields than anywhere else; the rain always made a point of setting in just as he had some outdoor work to do; so that though his patrimonial estate had dwindled away under his management, acre by acre, until there was little more left than a mere patch of Indian corn and potatoes, yet it was the worst conditioned farm in the neighborhood.

His children, too, were as ragged and wild as if they belonged to nobody. His son Rip, an urchin begotten in his own likeness, promised to inherit the habits, with the old clothes of his father. He was generally seen trooping like a colt at his mother's heels, equipped in a pair of his father's cast-off galligaskins, which he had much ado to hold up with one hand, as a fine lady does her train in bad weather.

Rip Van Winkle, however, was one of those happy mortals, of foolish, well-oiled dispositions, who take the world easy, eat white bread or brown, whichever can be got with least thought or trouble, and would rather starve on a penny than work for a pound. If left to himself, he would have whistled life away in perfect contentment; but his wife kept continually dinning in his ears about his idleness, his carelessness, and the ruin he was bringing on his family.

Morning, noon, and night her tongue was incessantly going and everything he said or did was sure to produce a torrent

of household eloquence. Rip had but one way of replying to all lectures of the kind, and that, by grequent use, had grown into a habit. He shrugged his shoulders, shook his head, cast up his eyes, but said nothing. This, however, always provoked a fresh volley from his wife, so that he was fain to draw off his forces, and take to the outside of the house—the only side which, in truth, belongs to a henpecked husband.

Rip's sole domestic adherent was his dog Wolf, who was as much henpecked as his master; for Dame Van Winkle regarded them as companions in idleness, and even looked upon Wolf with an evil eye as the cause of his master's going so often astray. True it is, in all points of spirit befitting an honorable dog, he was as courageous an animal as ever scoured the woods—but what courage can withstand the everduring and all-besetting terrors of a woman's tongue? The moment Wolf entered the house, his crest fell, his tail drooped to the ground, or curled between his legs, he sneaked about with a gallows air, casting many a sidelong glance at Dame Van Winkle, and at the least flourish of a broomstick or ladle, he would fly to the door with yelping precipitation.

Times grew worse and worse with Rip Van Winkle, as the years of matrimony rolled on: a tart temper never mellows with age, and a sharp tongue is the only edge tool that grows keener from constant use. For a long while he used to console himself, when driven from home, by frequenting a kind of perpetual club of the sages, philosophers, and other idle personages of the village, which held its sessions on a bench before a small inn, designated by a rubicund portrait of his majesty George III. Here they used to sit in the shade, of a long, lazy summer's day, talking listlessly over village gossip, or telling endless sleepy stories about nothing. But it would have been worth any statesman's money to have heard the profound discussions which sometimes took place, when by chance an old newspaper fell into their hands from some passing traveler. How solemnly they would listen to the contents, as drawled out by Derrick Van Bummel, the schoolmaster, a dapper learned little man, who was not to be daunted by the most gigantic word in the dictionary; and how sagely they would deliberate upon public events some months after they had taken place.

The opinions of this junta were completely controlled by Nicholas Vedder, a patriarch of the village, and landlord of

the inn, at the door of which he took his seat from morning till night, just moving sufficiently to avoid the sun, and keep in the shade of a large tree; so that the neighbors could tell the hour by his movements as accurately as by a sundial. It is true, he was rarely heard to speak, but smoked his pipe incessantly. His adherents, however (for every great man has his adherents), perfectly understood him, and knew how to gather his opinions. When anything that was read or related displeased him, he was observed to smoke his pipe vehemently, and to send forth short, frequent, and angry puffs; but when pleased he would inhale the smoke slowly and tranquilly, and emit it in light and placid clouds, and sometimes taking the pipe from his mouth, and letting the fragrant vapor curl about his nose, would gravely nod his head in token of perfect approbation.

From even this stronghold the unlucky Rip was at length routed by his termagant wife, who would suddenly break in upon the tranquillity of the assemblage and call the members all to nought; nor was that august personage, Nicholas Vedder himself, sacred from the daring tongue of this terrible virago, who charged him outright with encouraging her husband in habits of idleness.

Poor Rip was *at last reduced almost to despair,* and his only alternative *to escape* from the labor of the farm and the clamor of his wife, was to take gun in hand and stroll away into the woods. Here he would sometimes seat himself at the foot of a tree and share the contents of his wallet with Wolf, with whom he sympathized as a fellow-sufferer in persecution. "Poor Wolf," he would say; "thy mistress leads thee a dog's life of it; but never mind, my lad; whilst I live thou shalt never want a friend to stand by thee!" Wolf would wag his tail, look wistfully in his master's face, and if dogs can feel pity, I verily believe he reciprocated the sentiment with all his heart.

In a long ramble of the kind, on a fine autumnal day, Rip had unconsciously scrambled to one of the highest parts of the Kaatskill Mountains. He was after his favorite sport of squirrel-shooting, and the still solitudes had echoed and reechoed with the reports of his gun. Panting and fatigued, he threw himself, late in the afternoon, on a green knoll covered with mountain herbage that crowned the brow of the precipice. From an opening between the trees he could overlook all the lower country for many a mile of rich woodland. He saw at

a distance the lordly Hudson, far, far below him, moving on its silent but majestic course, with the reflection of a purple cloud or the sail of a lagging bark here and there sleeping on its glassy bosom, and at last losing itself in the blue highlands.

On the other side he looked down into a deep mountain glen, wild, lonely, and shagged, the bottom filled with fragments from the impending cliffs, and scarcely lighted from the reflected rays of the setting sun. For some time Rip lay musing on this scene; evening was gradually advancing; the mountains began to throw their long blue shadows over the valleys; he saw that it would be dark long before he could reach the village; and he heaved a heavy sigh when he thought of encountering the terrors of Dame Van Winkle.

As he was about to descend he heard a voice from a distance hallooing, "Rip Van Winkle! Rip Van Winkle!" He looked around, but could see nothing but a crow winging its solitary flight across the mountain. He thought his fancy must have deceived him, and turned again to descend, when he heard the same cry ring through the still evening air, "Rip Van Winkle! Rip Van Winkle!" At the same time Wolf bristled up his back, and, giving a low growl, skulked to his master's side, looking fearfully down into the glen. Rip now felt a vague apprehension stealing over him; he looked anxiously in the same direction, and perceived a strange figure slowly toiling up the rocks, and bending under the weight of something he carried on his back. He was surprised to see any human being in this lonely and unfrequented place, but supposing it to be someone of the neighborhood in need of assistance, he hastened down to yield it.

On nearer approach he was still more surprised at the singularity of the stranger's appearance. He was a short, square-built old fellow, with thick bushy hair and a grizzled beard. His dress was of the antique Dutch fashion—a cloth jerkin strapped round the waist, several pair of breeches, the outer one of ample volume, decorated with rows of buttons down the sides, and bunches at the knees. He bore on his shoulders a stout keg that seemed full of liquor, and made signs for Rip to approach and assist him with the load. Though rather shy and distrustful of this new acquaintance, Rip complied with his usual alacrity, and, mutually relieving each other, they clambered up a narrow gully, apparently the dry bed of a mountain torrent. As they ascended, Rip every now and

then heard long rolling peals like distant thunder, that seemed to issue out of a deep ravine or rather cleft between lofty rocks, toward which their rugged path conducted. He paused for an instant, but supposing it to be the muttering of one of those transient thunder-showers which often take place in mountain heights, he proceeded. Passing through the ravine, they came to a hollow, like a small amphitheater, surrounded by perpendicular precipices, over the brinks of which impending trees shot their branches, so that you only caught glimpses of the azure sky and the bright evening cloud. During the whole time Rip and his companion had labored on in silence; for, though the former marveled greatly what could be the object of carrying a keg of liquor up this wild mountain, yet there was something strange and incomprehensible about the unknown that inspired awe and checked familiarity.

On entering the amphitheater, new objects of wonder presented themselves. On a level spot in the center was a company of odd-looking personages playing at nine-pins. They were dressed in a quaint, outlandish fashion; some wore short doublets, others jerkins, with long knives in their belts, and most of them had enormous breeches of similar style with that of the guide's. Their visages, too, were peculiar. One had a large head, broad face, and small, piggish eyes; the face of another seemed to consist entirely of nose, and was surmounted by a white sugar-loaf hat, set off with a little red cock's tail. They all had beards of various shapes and colors. There was one who seemed to be the commander. He was a stout old gentleman, with a weather-beaten countenance; he wore a laced doublet, broad belt and hanger, high-crowned hat and feather, red stockings, and high-heeled shoes with roses in them. The whole group reminded Rip of the figures in an old Flemish painting in the parlor of Dominie Van Schaick, the village parson, and which had been brought over from Holland at the time of the settlement.

What seemed particularly odd to Rip was that, though these folks were evidently amusing themselves, yet they maintained the gravest faces, the most mysterious silence, and were, withal, the most melancholy party of pleasure he had ever witnessed. Nothing interrupted the stillness of the scene but the noise of the balls, which, whenever they were rolled, echoed along the mountains like rumbling peals of thunder.

As Rip and his companion approached them, they sud-

denly desisted from their play, and stared at him with such a fixed statue-like gaze, and such strange, uncouth, lack-luster countenances, that his heart turned within him and his knees smote together. His companion now emptied the contents of the keg into large flagons, and made signs to him to wait upon the company. He obeyed with fear and trembling; they quaffed the liquor in profound silence, and then returned to their game.

By degrees Rip's awe and apprehension subsided. He even ventured, when no eye was fixed upon him, to taste the beverage, which he found had much of the flavor of excellent Hollands. He was naturally a thirsty soul, and was soon tempted to repeat the draught. One taste provoked another, and he reiterated his visits to the flagon so often that at length his senses were overpowered, his eyes swam in his head, his head gradually declined, and *he fell into a deep* sleep.

On waking, he found himself on the green knoll from whence he had first seen the old man of the glen. He rubbed his eyes—it was a bright sunny morning. The birds were hopping and twittering among the bushes, and the eagle was wheeling aloft, and breasting the pure mountain breeze. "Surely," *thought Rip,* "I have not slept here all night." He recalled the occurrences before he fell asleep. The strange man with the keg of liquor—the mountain ravine—the wild retreat among the rocks—the woe-begone party at nine-pins—the flagon. "Oh, that wicked flagon!" *thought Rip.* "What excuse shall I make to Dame Van Winkle?"

He looked round for his gun, but in place of the clean, well-oiled fowling piece he found an old firelock lying beside him, the barrel encrusted with rust, the lock falling off, and the stock worm-eaten. He now suspected that the grave roysterers of the mountain had put a trick upon him, and, having dosed him with liquor, had robbed him of his gun. Wolf, too, had disappeared, but he might have strayed away after a squirrel or partridge. He whistled after him, and shouted his name, but all in vain; the echoes repeated his whistle and shout, but no dog was to be seen.

He determined to revisit the scene of the last evening's gambol, and if he met with any of the party to demand his dog and gun. As he arose to walk, he found himself stiff in the joints and wanting in his usual activity. "These mountain beds do not agree with me," *thought Rip,* "and if this frolic

should lay me up with a fit of rheumatism, I shall have a blessed time with Dame Van Winkle." With some difficulty he got down into the glen. He found the gully up which he and his companion had ascended the preceding evening; but to his astonishment a mountain stream was now foaming down it, leaping from rock, and filling the glen with babbling murmurs. He, however, made shift to scramble up its sides, working his toilsome way through thickets of birch, sassafras, and witch-hazel, and sometimes tripped up or entangled by the wild grapevines that twisted their coils and tendrils from tree to tree, and spread a kind of network in his path.

At length he reached to where the ravine had opened through the cliffs to the amphitheater; but no traces of such opening remained. The rocks presented a high, impenetrable wall, over which the torrent came tumbling in a sheet of feathery foam, and fell into a broad, deep basin, black from the shadows of the surrounding forest. Here, then, poor Rip was brought to a stand. He again called and whistled after his dog; he was only answered by the cawing of a flock of idle crows, sporting high in air about a dry tree that overhung a sunny precipice; and who, secure in their elevation, seemed to look down and scoff at the poor man's perplexities. What was to be done? The morning was passing away, and Rip felt famished for want of his breakfast. He grieved to give up his dog and gun; he dreaded to meet his wife; but it would not do to starve among the mountains. He shook his head, shouldered the rusty firelock, and with a heart full of trouble and anxiety turned his steps homeward.

As he approached the village he met a number of people, but none whom he knew, which somewhat surprised him, for he had thought himself acquainted with everyone in the country round. Their dress, too, was of a different fashion from that to which he was accustomed. They all stared at him with equal marks of surprise, and whenever they cast eyes upon him invariably stroked their chins. The constant recurrence of this gesture induced Rip involuntarily to do the same, when to his astonishment he found his beard had grown a foot long.

He had now entered the skirts of the village. A troop of strange children ran at his heels, hooting after him, and pointing at his gray beard. The dogs, too, not one of which he recognized for an old acquaintance, barked at him as he passed. The very village was altered; it was larger and more

populous. There were rows of houses which he had never seen before, and those which had been his familiar haunts had disappeared. Strange names were over the doors—strange faces at the windows—everything was strange. His mind now misgave him; he began to doubt whether both he and the world around him were not bewitched. Surely this was his native village, which he had left but a day before. There stood the Kaatskill Mountains—there ran the silver Hudson at a distance—there was every hill and dale precisely as it had always bees. Rip was sorely perplexed. "That flagin last night," thought he, "has addled my poor head sadly!"

It was with some difficulty that he found the way to his own house, which he approached with silent awe, expecting every moment to hear the shrill voice of Dame Van Winkle. He found the house gone to decay—the roof fallen in, the windows shattered, and the doors off the hinges. A half-starved dog, that looked like Wolf, was skulking about it. Rip called him by name, but the cur snarled, showed his teeth, and passed on. This was an unkind cut, indeed. "My very dog," sighed poor Rip, "has forgotten me!"

He entered the house, which, to tell the truth, Dame Van Winkle had always kept in neat order. It was empty, forlorn, and apparently abandoned. This desolateness overcame all his connubial fears. He called loudly for his wife and children. The lonely chambers rang for a moment with his voice, and then all again was silence.

He now hurried forth, and hastened to his old resort, the village inn; but it, too, was gone. A large rickety wooden building stood in its place, with great gaping windows, some of them broken, and mended with old hats and petticoats, and over the door was painted, "The Union Hotel, by Jonathan Doolittle." Instead of the great tree that used to shelter the quiet little Dutch inn of yore, there now was reared a tall, naked pole, with something on the top that looked like a red night-cap, and from it was fluttering a flag, on which was a singular assemblage of stars and stripes—all this was strange and incomprehensible. He recognized on the sign, however, the ruby face of King eorge, under which he had smoked so many a peaceful pipe, but even this was singularly metamorphosed. The red coat was changed for one of blue and buff, a sword was held in the hand instead of a scepter, the head was

decorated with a cocked hat, and underneath was painted, in large characters, GENERAL WASHINGTON.

There was, as usual, a crowd of folk about the door, but none that Rip recollected. The very character of the people seemed changed. There was a busy, bustling, disputatious tone about it, instead of the accustomed phlegm and drowsy tranquillity. He looked in vain for the sage Nicholas Vedder, with his broad face, double chin, and fair long pipe, uttering clouds of tobacco smoke instead of idle speeches; or Van Bummel, the schoolmaster, doling forth the contents of an ancient newspaper. In place of these, a lean, bilious-looking fellow with his pockets full of handbills, was haranguing vehemently about rights of citizens—election—members of Congress—liberty—Bunker's Hill—heroes of seventy-six—and other words that were a perfect Babylonish jargon to the bewildered Van Winkle.

The appearance of Rip, with his long, grizzled beard, his rusty fowling piece, his uncouth dress, and the army of women and children that had gathered at his heels, soon attracted the attention of the tavern politicians. They crowded round him, eying him from head to foot with great curiosity. The orator bustled up to him, and drawing him partly aside, inquired "on which side he voted?" Rip stared in vacant stupidity. Another short, but busy, fellow pulled him by the arm, and rising on tiptoe inquired in his ear "whether he was Federal or Democrat." Rip was equally at a loss to comprehend the question, when a knowing, self-important old gentleman in a sharp cocked hat made his way through the crowd, putting them to the right and left with his elbows as he passed, and planting himself before Van Winkle, with one arm akimbo, the other resting on his cane, his keen eyes and sharp hat penetrating, as it were, into his very soul, demanded in an austere tone "what brought him to the election with a gun on his shoulder and a mob at his heels, and whether he meant to breed a riot in the village?"

"Alas! gentleman," cried Rip, somewhat dismayed, "I am a poor, quiet man, a native of the place, and a loyal subject of the king—God bless him!"

Here a general shout burst from the bystanders: "A Tory! a Tory! a spy! a refugee! Hustle him! away with him!"

It was with great difficulty that the self-important man in

the cocked hat restored order; and having assumed a tenfold austerity of brow, demanded again of the unknown culprit what he came there for, and whom he was seeking. The poor man humbly assured him that he meant no harm, but merely came there in search of some of his neighbors, who used to keep about the tavern.

"Well, who are they? Name them."

Rip bethought himself a moment, and inquired, "Where's Nicholas Vedder?"

There was a silence for a little while, when an old man inquired in a thin, piping voice: "Nicholas Vedder? Why, he is dead and gone these eighteen years! There was a wooden tombstone in the churchyard that used to tell all about him, but that's rotten and gone too."

"Where's Brom Dutcher?"

"Oh, he went off to the army in the beginning of the war; some say he was killed at the storming of Stony Point, others say he was drowned in the squall at the foot of Anthony's Nose. I don't know—he never came back again."

"Where's Van Bummel, the schoolmaster?"

"He went off to the wars, too; was a great militia general, and is now in Congress."

Rip's heart died away at hearing of these sad changes in his home and friends, and finding himself thus alone in the world. Every answer puzzled him, too, by treating of such enormous lapses of time, and of matters which he could not understand. War—Congress—Stony Point! He had no courage to ask after any more friends, but cried out in despair: "Does nobody here know Rip Van Winkle?"

"Oh, Rip Van Winkle!" exclaimed two or three. "Oh, to be sure! That's Rip Van Winkle yonder, leaning against the tree."

Rip looked, and beheld a precise counterpart of himself as he went up the mountain; apparently as lazy and certainly as ragged. The poor fellow was now completely confounded. He doubted his own identity, and whether he was himself or another man. In the midst of his bewilderment the man in the cocked hat demanded who he was and what was his name.

"God knows!" exclaimed he, at his wit's end; "I'm not myself—I'm somebody else; that's me yonder—no, that's somebody else got into my shoes. I was myself last night, but I fell asleep on the mountain—and they've changed my gun—

and everything's changed—and I'm changed—and I can't tell what's my name, or who I am!"

The bystanders began now to look at each other, nod, wink significantly, and tap their fingers against their foreheads. There was a whisper, also, about securing the gun and keeping the old fellow from doing mischief; at the very suggestion of which the self-important man with the cocked hat retired with some precipitation. At this critical moment a fresh, comely woman passed through the throng to get a peep at the gray-bearded man. She had a chubby child in her arms, which, frightened at his looks, began to cry. "Hush, Rip," cried she; "hush, you little fool; the old man won't hurt you." The name of the child, the air of the mother, the tone of her voice, all awakened a train of recollections in his mind.

"What is your name, my good woman," asked he.

"Judith Gardenier."

"And your father's name?"

"Ah, the poor man! his name was Rip Van Winkle; it's *twenty years since* he went away from home with his gun, and never has been heard of since; his dog came home without him. But whether he shot himself or was carried away by the Indians nobody can tell. I was then but a little girl." Rip had but one question more to ask; he put it with a faltering voice:

"Where's your mother?"

"Oh, she, too, had died but a short time since; she broke a blood vessel in a fit of passion at a New England peddler."

There was a drop of comfort, at least, in this intelligence. The honest man could contain himself no longer. He caught his daughter and her child in his arms. "I am your father!" cried he. "Young Rip Van Winkle once—old Rip Van Winkle now! Does nobody know poor Rip Van Winkle?"

All stood amazed, until *an old woman,* tottering out from among the crowd, put her hand to her brow, and peering under it in his face for a moment, exclaimed: "Sure enough! It is Rip Van Winkle—it is himself. Welcome home again, old neighbor. Why, where have you been these twenty long years?"

Rip's story was soon told, for the whole twenty years had been to him but as one night. The neighbors stared when they heard it; some were seen to wink at each other, and put their tongues in their cheeks; and the self-important man in the cocked hat, who, when the alarm was over, had returned to

the field, screwed down the corners of his mouth and shook his head, upon which there was a general shaking of the head throughout the assemblage.

It was determined, however, to take the opinion *of old Peter Vanderdonk* who, was seen slowly advancing up the road. He was a descendant of the historian of that name, who wrote one of the earliest accounts of the province. Peter was the most ancient inhabitant of the village, and well versed in all the wonderful events and traditions of the neighborhood. *He recollected Rip at once,* and corroborated his story in the most satisfactory manner. He assured the company that it was a fact, handed down from his ancestor, the historian, that the Kaatskill Mountains had always been haunted by strange beings. That it was affirmed that the great Hendrick Hudson, the first discoverer of the river and country, kept a kind of vigil there every twenty years with his crew of the *Half-Moon*, being permitted in this way to revisit the scenes of his enterprise, and keep a guardian eye upon the river and the great city called by his name. That his father had once seen them in their old Dutch dresses playing at nine-pins in a hollow of the mountain; and that he himself had heard, one summer afternoon, the sound of their balls, like distant peals of thunder.

To make a long story short, the company broke up, and returned to the more important concerns of the election. *Rip's daughter took him home* to live with her; she had a snug, well-furnished house and a stout, cheery farmer for a husband, whom Rip recollected for one of the urchins that used to climb upon his back. As to Rip's *son and heir*, who was the ditto of himself, seen leaning against the tree, he was *employed to work on the farm;* but evinced a hereditary disposition to work at anything else but his business.

Rip now *resumed his old walks and habits*; he soon found many of his former cronies, though all rather the worse for the wear and tear of time; and preferred making friends among the rising generation, with whom he soon grew into great favor.

Having nothing to do at home, and being arrived at that happy age when a man can do nothing with impunity, *he took his place once more on the bench at the inn door*, and was reverenced as *one of the patriarchs of the village* and a *chronicle of the old times "before the war."* It was some time before he could get into the regular track of gossip, or

could be made to comprehend the strange events that had taken place during his torpor—how that there had been a revolutionary war; that the country had thrown off the yoke of old England; and that, instead of being a subject of his majesty George III., he was now a free citizen of the United States. Rip, in fact, was no politician; the changes of states and empires made little impression on him; but there was one species of despotism under which he had long groaned, and that was—petticoat government. Happily, that was at an end; he had got his neck out of the yoke of matrimony, and could go in and out whenever he pleased, without dreading the tyranny of Dame Van Winkle. Whenever her name was mentioned, however, he shook his head, shrugged his shoulders, and cast up his eyes; which might pass either for an expression of resignation to his fate or joy at his deliverance.

He used to tell his story to every stranger that arrived at Mr. Doolittle's hotel. He was observed, at first, *to vary* on some points every time he told it, which was doubtless owing to his having so recently awaked. *It at last settled down precisely to the tale I have related,* and not a man, woman, or child in the neighborhood but knew it by heart. Some always pretended to doubt the reality of it, and insisted that Rip had been out of his head, and that this was one point on which he always remained flighty. *The old Dutch inhabitants, however, almost universally gave it full credit.* Even to this day, they never hear a thunderstrom of a summer afternoon about the Kaatskill's but they say Hendrik Hudson and his crew are at their game of nine-pins; and it it a common wish of all henpecked husbands in the neighborhood, when life hangs heavy on their hands, that they might have a quieting draught out of Rip Van Winkle's flagon.

NOTE—The foregoing tale, one would suspect, had been suggested to Mr. Knickerbocker by a little German superstition about the Emperor Frederick der Rothbart and the Kypphauser mountain; the subjoined note, however, which he had appended to the tale, shows that it is an absolute fact, narrated with his usual fidelity.

"The story of Rip Van Winkle may seem incredible to many, but nevertheless I give it my full belief, for I know the vicinity of our old Dutch settlements to have been subject to marvelous events and appearances. Indeed, I have heard many stranger stories than this, in the villages along the Hudson, all of which were too well authenticated to admit of a doubt. I have even talked with Rip Van Winkle myself, who, when last I saw him, was a very venerable old man, and so perfectly rational and consistent on every other point that I think no conscientious person could refuse to take this into the bargain; nay, I have seen a certificate on the subject taken before a country justice, and signed with a cross, in the justice's own handwriting. The story, therefore is beyond the possibility of doubt."

APPENDIX V AND VI.

The tale of *Frederick der Rothbard* to which Irving alludes in a footnote on the last page of his Rip van Winkle.

This tale in connection with that footnote of Washington Irving *really contains the confession of Irving* that he purloined from Erasmus. For if this tale, having so little in common with the Rip van Winkle might be suspected, according to Irving himself, as the original, how much more undeniably must Irving himself allow us to recognize in Erasmus' tale the real original from which he took the whole conception and every essential moment of his Rip van Winkle.

APPENDIX V.

BARBAROSSA BY FRIEDRICH RUCKERT

Der alte Barbarossa
Der Kaiser Friederich
Im unterirdschen Schlosse
Halt er bezaubert sich.

Er ist niemals gestorben
Er lebt darin noch jetzt
Er hat im Schloss verborgen
Zum Schlaf sich hingesetzt.

Er hat hinabgenommen
Des Reiches Herrlichkeit
Und wird einst wiederkommen
Mit ihr zu seiner Zeit.

Der Stuhl ist elfenbeinern
Darauf der Kaiser sitzt;
Der Tisch ist marmelsteinern
Werauf sein Kinn ausruht.

Sein Bart ist nicht von Flachse,
Er ist von Feuerglut,
Ist durch den Tisch gewachsen,
Worauf sein Kinn ausruht.

Er nickt als wie im Traume,
Sein Aug'halb offen zwinkt,
Und je nach langem Raume
Er einen Knaben winkt.

Er spricht im Schlaf zum Knaben;
Geh' hin vor's Schloss, o Zwerg,
Und sieh', ob noch die Raben
Herfliegen um den Berg

Und wenn die alten Raben
Noch fliegen immerdar,
So musz ich auch noch schlafen
Bezaubert hundert Jahr.

APPENDIX VI.

BARBAROSSA BY FRIEDRICH RICKERT.

(Translated into English)

The emp'ror Barbarossa
The famous Frederick
Bewitched in his castle
Far underground still lives.

They say he never died
But lives therein till now;
And hidden in his castle
He set himself to sleep.

He took with him the glory
Of all his great empire;
One time he will return
And bring it back again.

A chair of ivory
He uses as his seat;
His head rests on a table
Of marble there below.

His beard is not a flaxen,
But looks like flames of fire
And grows right through the table,
On which now rests his chin.

He nods like in a dream,
When op'ning half his eye,
He after a long while
Winks for a noble page.

Then to this page he says:
Go now outside the castle
And look if still the raven
Around this mountain fly.

And when still the old raven
Fly 'round there all the time,
Then I have still to sleep
At least for hundred years.

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GRAND RAPIDS

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